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AN ABSTRACT OF

AN INTRODUCTION TO JOHN HENRY NEWMAN'S APOLOGIA PRO VITA SUA

A THESIS OF .....PAGES

by

WILFRED G. DOIRON, B.A.

This project was undertaken after an investigation of the available data on John Henry Newman's Apologia Pro Vita Sua had emphasized two deficiencies with which individuals in search of a comprehensive background for this prose classic must contend. In the first place, the studies are either too superficial, or too biased in their treatment through feelings of sympathy or antagonism towards the author's religious convictions, or too prone to consider only some particular aspect of the work. Furthermore, these studies are unavailable to anyone without extensive library facilities at his command, scattered as they are throughout volumes of biography, periodicals of limited circulation, and monographs in literary studies.

It is the purpose of this thesis to incorporate into a unified body those known facts which are essential to an appreciation of the classic. The author takes the position that the Apologia



Pro Vita Sua was engendered in controversy and conceived as a vindication of Newman's personal integrity through the method of self-revelation. Its acceptance as a masterpiece has come about almost in spite of the forgotten controversies and technical theological questions which comprise the subject-matter. The seal of general acclaim is due to public response to the extraordinary spirit of candour which pervades the disclosures of Newman's spiritual saga and the sheer stylistic charm by means of which he succeeds in expressing the intricate processes of his mind and heart.





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AN INTRODUCTION TO JOHN HENRY NEWMAN'S APOLOGIA PRO VITA SUA

A DISSERTATION

SUBMITTED TO THE SCHOOL OF GRADUATE STUDIES

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by

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## CONTENTS

	<u>Page</u>
FOREWORD	VIII
CHAPTER I : JOHN HENRY NEWMAN, DECEMBER 1863	1
CHAPTER II : THE CONTROVERSY	9
CHAPTER III : NEWMAN'S POTENTIAL AUDIENCE	21
CHAPTER IV : NEWMAN'S QUALIFICATIONS FOR WRITING THE <u>APOLOGIA</u>	35
CHAPTER V : THE ORIGINAL <u>APOLOGIA</u>	41
CHAPTER VI : SUBSEQUENT VERSIONS AND VARIANTS	48
CHAPTER VII : STYLE IN THE <u>APOLOGIA</u>	61
CHAPTER VIII : THE <u>APOLOGIA</u> : APOLOGY OR AUTOBIOGRAPHY?	76
CHAPTER IX : WHAT THE <u>APOLOGIA</u> ACCOMPLISHED	79
CHAPTER X : LITERATURE ON THE <u>APOLOGIA</u>	83
BIBLIOGRAPHY	89
APPENDIX A : CHRONOLOGY	91
APPENDIX B : ADVERSE CRITICISMS OF THE <u>APOLOGIA</u>	94
APPENDIX C : THE 1864 and 1865 EDITIONS	97
APPENDIX D : ADDITIONAL EXAMPLES OF VARIANTS DISCUSSED IN CHAPTER VI	98



## ABBREVIATIONS

### Works of Newman

- Apologia: Apologia Pro Vita Sua, Oxford Edition, edited by Wilfrid Ward, London, Frowde, 1913.
- Present Position: Lectures on the Present Position of Catholics in England, New York, The America Press, 1942.
- Occasional Sermons: Sermons Preached on Various Occasions, London, Longmans, Green, and Co., 1890
- Difficulties: Lectures on Certain Difficulties Felt by Anglicans, London, Longmans, Green, and Co., 1912

### Works on Newman

- Ward: W. Ward, Life of John Henry Cardinal Newman, London, Longmans, 1913
- Harrold: C. F. Harrold, John Henry Newman, New York, Longmans, Green, and Co., 1945
- Letters: Letters and Correspondence of John Henry Newman to 1845, edited by Anne Mozley, New York, Longmans, Green, and Co., 1911





## Foreword.

The twentieth century has dealt roughly with those great books of the past which we loosely term, 'classics.' So many people possess them or have ready access to them; yet, they are satisfied with the very casual knowledge about them that can be gained from "the motion picture of the same name" or from the brief selections which they have been forced to study in school. In fact, it is a modern paradox that the classics with which intimacy is implied are among the most unread of books. It is so easy to make a superficial reference to them, to insert a title or the name of some character into general conversation, that appearances are misleading.

Why does this state of affairs exist when the very qualities which entitle a literary work to enter the cherished category of 'classic' are those which make it pre-eminently exciting, informative, thrilling and educational? Many rationalizations are available - the modern pace of living, the many alternative recreational facilities, the concentration and leisure required to read and understand a book of any length. A frequent excuse is the complexity of the text itself, its setting, its vocabulary, its disparateness from modern life. Heavy apparatus has been at work during the last hundred years to enervate and stultify the modern man's imaginative faculties. First the realistic novels and such twentieth century phenomena as motion pictures, radio and television, have created a tolerance to suggestion on the part of the general public; the corollary to such a condition is the shunning of any leisure time activity which might preclude a lapse into a trance-



like escape.

Newman's Apologia Pro Vita Sua is sharing the common fate of these great heritages. Even well-read adults admit that they find it impossible to read through. They know it by reputation, even tackle it with good will, but, after a feeble effort, set it aside. It is granted that the quick reader who hopes to absorb ideas while he runs is doomed to disillusionment and finds himself lost. Newman's writings do not lend themselves to impatient scanning any more than those of his contemporaries. He is definitely not adapted to simplified, digested thought, the only kind of literature which the majority seems to tolerate these days. Yet, for a generation which has been unwillingly driven to a search for fundamentals by the events of the postwar years in the fields of science and world politics, Newman's religious odyssey should hold a special interest. Just as it is through an accident of birth that we have witnessed a Second World War and are the generation charged with the responsibility of meeting the challenge of Atomic power and Communism, it was Newman's chance also to arrive at manhood at a crucial moment in the life of a nation. The Napoleonic Wars were long enough over to have become a memory; the movement for reform, sidetracked temporarily by the excesses of Revolution, was asserting itself once more. It was resulting in a very audible criticism of the social, political, religious and domestic fabric of English life.

The Victorians made a praiseworthy and fascinatingly interesting attempt to retain, re-organize and even deepen their culture in the midst of major changes in knowledge, technique and society.





Newman was only one of many writers who sought to convince his fellow-men that they must come to terms with fundamentals in order to withstand the onslaught of material change. Newman was deeply concerned with the state of the world, man's situation in it and how the latter should live in it. His work -- like that of such contemporaries as Carlyle, Eliot and Arnold -- reflects an outlook on life which is partly philosophical and partly moral. But, whereas the interests of Carlyle and Arnold were social and political, Newman's preoccupation was doctrinal and ecclesiastical. If he has been gaining admiration from non-Catholics recently, it is because he proves to have had one of the most comprehensive, detailed and integrated views of things of any writer in his century. This integration is so complete that the totality of his outlook can, in an abstract way, be stated in a single sentence: reality is a great ordered system with the Creator as its apex. Nothing in the created universe is self-contained:

His are all beings, visible and invisible...the laws of the universe, the principles of truth, the relation of one thing to another, their qualities and virtues, the order and harmony of the whole, all that exists, is from Him...and so in the intellectual, moral, social, and political world. 1

Harrold points out the message which Newman has for the present generation:

The world today has moved into the tragic era which he foresaw with such prophetic sadness. It has developed the unbelief and the violence which he regarded as inevitable....There is certainly no better time to read Newman than now, when the

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1. J. H. Newman, The Idea of a University, ed. C. F. Harrold; New York, Longmans, Green, and Co., 1947, 56-57.



world, sated and brutalized by greedy secularism, is in danger of completely losing the two things for which Newman stood: the freedom and dignity of the mind, and the sense of the supreme reality of God and one's own soul. The polarity of the human mind requires the 'other-worldly' to balance and temper its lust for matter. Modern man, too long obsessed with 'this-worldly' aims and achievements, has now got himself into a terrifying impasse. He thinks he needs peace. And so he does. But Newman would add...he first needs 'holiness rather than peace.' 1.

Before Newman's day, only four or five famous people had dared plainly and without reserve to write their own spiritual biography. Actually, it is a task which presupposes either great deceit or great humility; in Newman's case, it was basically humility in the face of great provocation. Augustine wrote his autobiography to catch souls for the kingdom of God; Rousseau to prove himself a good citizen of the world; Amiel as a catharsis of the spirit. Of the four resulting works, Newman's Apologia, reflecting its author's character, is by far the noblest. Its pages are neither soiled by sensuality as are Augustine's Confessions, nor by egotism as are Rousseau's Confessions, nor by the weakness displayed in Amiel's Journal Intime.

It is also noteworthy that the Apologia resembles some of the other polemical works of its time in being woven around a personality or a situation. Examples of this trend may be noticed in Carlyle's Sartor Resartus and Matthew Arnold's Friendship's Garland.

One obvious difficulty faces the reader of the Apologia - the lack of source material necessary to the understanding of the book.

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1. C. F. Harrold, A Newman Treasury, New York, Longmans, Green, and Co., 1943, IX-X.



Much has been written of the circumstances which produced it and its qualities. But such material is scattered in "introductions" to various editions, periodical articles or general works. There does not appear to be any single work which can be consulted by the prospective reader.

When the above facts became clearly indicated through an investigation of the available data on the Apologia Pro Vita Sua, it was determined to attempt to close this gap. Therefore, the author of this thesis has endeavoured to incorporate into a unified whole the historical facts concerning the controversy in which the book had its genesis, the circumstances under which the text was offered to the public, and the research findings of those studies of the Apologia which were at his disposal. It is hoped that this work will provide that comprehensive background which is essential to an appreciation of the author and of the Apologia as a unique prose classic.





JOHN HENRY NEWMAN, DECEMBER, 1863.

The bleak December winds howled about the estate which housed the Oratory House and School at Edgbaston, a suburb of the city of Birmingham, England. The institution was pervaded by that unnatural silence which characterizes any school whose students are absent at their homes during the Christmas Holidays. The school itself was of comparatively recent origin, (1859), having been opened only a few years before in an effort to fill a gap in Catholic education of which the founder and present rector was acutely aware: the lack of academic opportunity on a level with that of the Public Schools of England for the sons of Catholic families of the middle class. The date was December 30, 1863.

The rector who was, at the moment, sorting through the recently arrived mail was an elderly ecclesiastic. He was the Reverend John Henry Newman, D.D.

At sixty-two years of age, Newman was leading a life of deep seclusion far from the public arena in which he had formerly played such a controversial role. His days were devoted to the teaching and supervision of the school which he had founded and developed; his evenings were spent in organizing his various writings and notes. His frail physique belied the fact that a quarter century of life was ahead of him. His physical appearance and the impression of his character have been vividly described by a former pupil who, coincidentally enough, was the author of the Volume from whose review the episode of the Apologia had its start:

Newman was above the middle height, slight and spare. His head was large, his face remarkably like that of Julius Caesar. The





forehead, the shape of the ears and nose...the lines of the mouth...exactly the same. I have often thought of the resemblance and believed that it extended even to temperament. In both there was an original force of character which refused to be moulded by circumstances, which was to make its own way, and become a power in the world; a clearness of intellectual perception, a disdain for conventionalities a temper imperious and wilful, but along with it a most attaching gentleness, sweetness, singleness of heart and purpose. Both were formed by nature to command others, both had the faculty of attracting to themselves the passionate devotion of their friends and followers.... 1.

Just how valid Froude's comparison is at the intellectual plane in view of his cynicism towards all that Newman stood for is doubtful, but the quotation above gives the present day reader an arresting image of the physical appearance of the man.

Sarolea furnishes a portrait of Newman as a complex individual.

He was by nature a leader, yet, Hamlet-like, he saw too many sides of a situation to be ruthlessly effective. (the)... bewildering complexity of the man...meets us even in his portraits...his face appears to us in turn gentle and hard, manly and feminine, smiling and stern, kindly and contemptuous, cheerful and sad. (He is) an ascetic, and at the same time he is an artist, a literary epicure, appreciating beauty of style....He is affectionate and reserved. He has the imagination of a mystic and the corrosive intellect of a skeptic. He delights in intellectual difficulties and yearns for certainty. He is sincerity incarnate, and possessed of a subtlety which the greatest casuist might have envied. He is disinterested to the verge of self-abdication...and at the same time he is egotistic, introspective, of an almost morbid subjectivity. He is timid and aggressive. He loves solitude, and yet (few men drew) to themselves so many hearts. 2.

Newman's early manhood, from his entrance to Oxford in 1816 as an undergraduate through the years intervening until his reception into the Roman Catholic Church in 1845, constitutes the quest of an

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1. J.A.Froude, Short Studies on Great Subjects, London, Longmans, Greene, and Co., 1901, IV, 273.

2. Charles Sarolea, Cardinal Newman and his Influence on Religious Life and Thought, Edinburgh, Clark, 1908, 57-59.



individual whose ideals led him through Evangelicalism and Anglicanism. His was always a pursuit of the highest attainable life, the drama of which was played against the quadrangles and pulpit of Oxford, the seclusion of Littlemore and, from 1845 on, the eager but clumsy gropings of the revived Catholic Church to re-establish itself as a force in the religious and intellectual life of Great Britain.

At Oxford, he had been accustomed to adulation as a scholar and a divine. His twenty-six years there had been the happiest of his life. Oxford, itself, remained in Newman's memory as a source of constant nostalgia. The University was more than the scene of his earlier triumphs; it was his real home. He clung to her enchantments, the recollection of her stately spires, and the rocking of her bells for the remainder of his life. They had been years of exultation when, as the voice of the Tractarian Movement, his name had been a household word throughout the country and his mere passing on the street had given the under-graduates a thrill. Those days were gone.

Gone also were the hopes he had cherished of playing a leading role in the renaissance of the Roman Church as a vital entity in his beloved England. In 1863, his eighteen years of effort towards that end provided only a reservoir of painful experiences that might well have induced despair in a less dedicated soul. His hidden life at Edgbaston seems also to have been characterized by a foreboding of fatal illness, common to many introverts who have to endure the handicap of frail health. This does not indicate that he was a hypochondriac or that there was any conscious slackening in his arduous labors. But such a sense of impending disaster could not have added to the cheerfulness of his existence.



His isolation was enhanced by a full awareness of the coolness and suspicion of which he was the object, not only from his associates of Anglican Days but from his fellow-Catholics. To both parties he was an alien; one to whom could be aptly dedicated the Chronicler's Speech in Drinkwater's Abraham Lincoln: 'Lonely is the man who understands.'

The attitude of his fellowcountrymen must have been Newman's heaviest cross. To the majority of the English public he was that type of renegade whom they held in special abhorrence - the 'Lost Leader' whose dialectical skill had been prostituted to a treacherous campaign for their proselytization. Loyalty unto death is something the British can admire among themselves or foreigners; mental changes based on intellectual conviction lie beyond the grasp of even fair-minded citizens, especially when the person involved is a popular hero and the field that of religion. His closest colleagues of Oxford and the Movement did not openly participate in this harsh condemnation. Yet, for those who could not follow him into the Church of Rome, the difficulty lay in comprehending how a man of such purity of life, proven apostolicity and intense self-devotion should have fallen into error at the very height and maturity of his powers. They maintained a silence not of contempt but of pity.

In the Apologia, Newman was to use the analogy of coming into port after a rough sea to describe his feelings upon entering the Roman Church. Such a sense of calmness seems applicable only to his sense of spiritual homecoming and not to the role he was to play in the external affairs of the Church of his choice. The Roman Catholic Church of the eighteen forties in England was not prepared to provide scope for the apostolic zeal and intellectual foresight which had matured in him. The few influential English families who





had retained the faith of their ancestors through the restrictive centuries of the Penal Laws had developed a "seige mentality." They were suspicious of converts from the ranks of the Church of England, particularly if these latter were noted for intellectual endowments. In addition, Newman's career in the Roman Catholic Church was overshadowed by a former Anglican protagonist, Henry Edward Manning, who undertook the same step in 1851. Temperamentally averse to each other, their lives were fated to clash many times until Newman's death. Manning's rise in the administration of the Roman Church had been meteoric and, in 1863, he was Provost of the Westminster Chapter, destined to succeed Cardinal Wiseman as Metropolitan of England in 1865. His influence in Rome in regard to English affairs was second only to that of Wiseman's. Manning's temperament was such that:

He was inclined to label all who opposed him among the English Catholics as anti-Roman, Low Church, minimizers and disloyal to the Holy See. It is indubitable that he included Newman in that category. 1.

This does not imply that Newman's potential gifts were not respected nor that occasions were neglected to put them to use. It does mean that there existed a definite incompatibility of aim and method between Newman and those who were charged with the direction of ecclesiastical policy in England at that time.

In any event, either through misinterpretation of policy, disparity of aims or those two limitations on his own abilities, his untactful tendency to outstrip his co-workers without catering to their prejudices or limited vision, and his deficiencies as an administrator, the dozen years previous to 1863 had witnessed a

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1. Shane Leslie, Manning: Anglican and Catholic, Andover Hants; Chapel River Press, 1952, 80.





succession of failures in almost every field of endeavour to which he applied his energy and talent. His was the touch of death on many laudable projects, although it would appear that advantage was taken of his goodwill frequently to make him the whipping boy. There seemed little choice for him to do but to languish in obscurity.

Five great trials or failures had combined to force his career to its lowest ebb: First, there was the Achilli law-suit (1852) whose verdict against Newman was declared to be, by the London Times, 'a deep stain on the administration of justice in England.' Then the years of devoted labor in the project of establishing a Catholic University in Dublin (1851-56) had come to nought through ecclesiastical prejudice and mismanagement. Next, at Cardinal Wiseman's request, he had devoted a year (1857) to laying the groundwork for an English Translation of the Scriptures and had incurred considerable personal expense therein only to see the plan abandoned when it conflicted with those of the American Bishops. Later, Manning's opposition frustrated the attempt to found a centre for Catholic students attending Oxford (1858). And finally, also, it was the latter's opposition which dictated Newman's resignation from The Rambler (1860), a Catholic literary magazine which Newman had hoped would compete with the Protestant intellectual journals of the day and publicize the Catholic viewpoints on current topics. There were also lesser disappointments, such as the failure to receive the Bishopric of which he had been assured, and the internal quarrel which led to the separation of the Oratory House in London from that of Edgbaston. It is evident from Newman's letters that he felt these failures keenly. His natural capacity to become absorbed



in any movement or task of whose worth he was convinced would make it especially humiliating to see those goals for which he fought dissolve through the shortsightedness or petty antipathies of men of lesser intellect and foresight.

This, then, is the rector whom we see that December day engrossed in the task of scanning his correspondence. Among whatever other letters or periodicals which arrived that day of which we have no record there was a copy of the January, 1864, number of Macmillan's Magazine. The identification of the individual who had taken it upon himself to send Newman the copy is unknown, since he is referred to only as a 'friend or foe.' To make it clear why the magazine had been forwarded to him, Newman's attention was referred to the review of a book by J. A. Froude who had once been one of those young Oxford students who had been his disciples. It was the book review itself, signed by initials only, which contained the sentences of prejudice and slander against Newman and the Catholic priesthood. Newman was too accustomed to such slurs to be unduly upset by what he read. Yet, he felt honor bound to bring the matter to the notice of the publishers. The courteous request for an apology which went out in the mail of December 30, 1863, contained nothing which suggested any prolongation of the affair.

An oft-repeated misconception of the Newman of this period pictures him as a 'wounded' warrior 'playing possum' and patiently waiting for just such an opportunity to vindicate himself before the eyes of the world. Any man who had been forced to submit to the opprobrium of his fellows over a period, perforce in silence, would almost inevitably be on the watch for a chance to vindicate himself.



However, as one follows the stages of the controversy which arose as a result of the letter of December 30, he is struck by the absence of any clear evidence of any such behavior on the part of Newman. As the next chapter will show, the idea of vindication grew only after a fruitless attempt to convince his adversary by other means.



### THE CONTROVERSY.

The passage of the review which had occasioned Newman's protest to the Editors of the magazine contained, except for the direct allusion to himself, little that was not a routine accusation against the Roman priesthood in that era. Such statements were usually taken for granted by most readers of whatever faith.

So, again, of the virtue of truth. Truth, for its own sake, has never been a virtue with the Roman clergy. Father Newman informs us that it need not, and on the whole ought not to be; that cunning is the weapon which Heaven has given to the saints wherewith to withstand the brute male force of the wicked world which marries and is given in marriage. Whether his notion is doctrinally correct or not, it is at least historically. 1.

The passage occurs in the review of Volumes VII and VIII of J. A. Froude's History of England, wherein the reviewer comments on the reign of Queen Elizabeth. Only the reviewer's initials were affixed: C.K.

Newman, of course, recognized the author of the book under review as the younger brother of Richard Hurrell Froude, one of his closest associates and friends at Oxford and a leader in the Tractarian Movement to the time of his premature death in 1836. James Anthony Froude had also, during his student days in Oxford, been a member of the Tractarian Movement. In fact, he had assisted Newman in the compilation of his Lives of the English Saints. It had been while

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1. Macmillan's Magazine, January, 1864, 216-7 (quoted: C. F. Harrold, John Henry Newman, New York, Longmans, Greene, and Co., 1945, 300. (Henceforth: Harold)







working on this project that he had become dissatisfied with Newman's attitude towards miracles. Then he had begun to read Carlyle, and been strongly influenced by his teachings. The latter's gloomy, unorthodox spirit cast over Froude an even stronger spell than that of the austere and delicate Newman. After his ordination as deacon in 1845, Froude gave up any idea of proceeding further in Holy Orders. Expelled from Oxford for his unorthodox views, he turned to the writing of History in which field he is remarkable chiefly for his literary excellence. In other respects, his books are marred by prejudice and incorrect statements; a strong anti-clerical trend is evident throughout his volumes.

Newman was perhaps aware that Froude's first wife was a sister of Mrs. Charles Kingsley. But it did not occur to him that the initials, C. K., stood for Froude's brother-in-law, Charles Kingsley, chaplain to Queen Victoria, Canon of Westminster Abbey, Professor of Modern History at Cambridge whose historical fiction which includes such favorites as Westward Ho and Hereward the Wake is still school boy reading. An eloquent preacher and a man of culture, Kingsley was one of the most prominent clergymen of his time. Strachey's statement seems to explain his reference to Newman in the review:

Kingsley was a stout Protestant, whose hatred of Popery was, at bottom, simply ethical-an honest, instinctive horror of priestcraft and the habits of superstition; and it was only natural that he should see in those innumerable delicate distinctions which Newman was perpetually drawing, and which he himself had not only never thought of, but could not even grasp, simply another manifestation of the inherent falsehood of Rome. 1.

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1. Lytton Strachey, Eminent Victorians, Penguin Books, London, Hazell, Watson and Viney, Ltd., 1948, 37.



We have Newman's own words as recorded in the passage below, when the author of the review became known. The passage is also pertinent because it gives us a glimpse of Newman's original reaction:

I have heard from Mr. Kingsley, avowing himself, to my extreme astonishment, the author of the passage....No one whose name I had heard, crossed my mind as the writer...had anyone said it was Mr. Kingsley, I should have laughed in his face...as to the article, I said to myself, 'Here is a young scribe, who is making himself a cheap reputation by smart hits at safe objects.' All this will make you see...how wanton I feel it to have been in the parties concerned thus to let fly at me. Were I in active controversy with the Anglican body, or any portion of it, as I have been before now, I should consider untrue assertions about me to be in a certain sense a rule of the game,...though God forbid that I should indulge in them myself in the case of another....The January number of the Magazine was sent to me, I know not by whom, friend or foe....Protestants think that the Catholic system, as such, leads to a lax observance of the rule of truth... I lament their mistake but I bear it as I may. If Mr. Kingsley had said no more than this, I should not have felt it necessary to criticize such an ordinary remark---But--- for a writer, when he is criticizing definite historical facts of the sixteenth century, which stand or fall on their own merits, to go out of his way to have a fling at an unpopular name, living but 'down,' and boldly to say to those who know no better...who take their tradition of historical facts from him...is a proceeding of so special a character as to lead me to exclaim, after the pattern of the celebrated saying, 'O Truth, how many lies are told in thy name.' 1.

It can be noted from this letter that Newman's ire had been roused upon learning that his traducer was an outstanding exponent of the Protestant cause in England. He goes on to indicate that the only apology which would satisfy such a statement is either a complete retraction or proof of the statement. In other words, he feels justified in placing upon his accuser the burden of proof.

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1. Letter of January 8, 1864, to X.Y., Esq., a gentleman who, as a Protestant friend of both parties, intervened to try to conciliate. This letter is included in the correspondence published by Newman on January 31, 1864.



The resulting interchange of correspondence can best be set out for consideration by presenting it in chronological order:

- Dec. 30, 1863: Dr. Newman to Messrs. Macmillan & Co:  
- "to draw attention to a grave and gratuitous slander."
- Jan. 6, 1864: Rev. Charles Kingsley to Dr. Newman:  
- has seen letter to the Editors; acknowledges authorship; considers his words justifiable from passages in Sermon 20, "Wisdom and Innocence," in Sermons on Subjects of the Day (1844).
- Jan. 7, 1864: Dr. Newman to Rev. Charles Kingsley:  
- states that the Sermon referred to was published when he was an Anglican, and that it did not fairly bear any such interpretation.
- Jan. 8, 1864: Dr. Newman to X. Y., Esq. (quoted above)
- Jan. 14, 1864: Rev. Charles Kingsley to Dr. Newman:  
- the "tone" of Newman's letters convinced him he had mistaken his "meaning;" encloses proposed apology he intends to insert in Macmillan's Magazine.
- Jan. 17, 1864: Dr. Newman to Rev. Charles Kingsley:  
- objects to the patronizing apology with no attempt to indicate any definite basis for the original charge and particularly to the line, 'No man knows the use of words better than Dr. Newman; no man, therefore, has a better right to define what he does not mean by them.' Indicates the unjust, but too probable, popular interpretation which would be placed on it.
- Jan. 18, 1864: Rev. Charles Kingsley to Dr. Newman:  
- withdraws objectionable section; irritatedly accuses Newman of hair-splitting and bluntly declares, "I have done as much as one English gentleman can expect of another."
- Jan. 22, 1864: Dr. Newman to Messrs. Macmillan & Co.:  
- protests that the apology was insufficient as an "amende honorable."

The "Letter of Explanation" to the Editor of Macmillan's Magazine appeared in the February, 1864, issue of the Magazine (page 368.) Upon the realization that there was no hope of persuading Kingsley to comprehend the nature of his offense, the gentleman in





Newman yielded to the practised and deadly controversialist. He did the unexpected and crushing thing; he published both sides of the correspondence, with a final section of "Reflections," in a shilling pamphlet on January 31, 1864. It was entitled, Mr. Kingsley and Dr. Newman: A Correspondence on the Question Whether Dr. Newman Teaches That Truth Is No Virtue? The "Reflections" consisted of a witty caricature of Kingsley's argument which Jonathan Swift would have envied.

It was only in middle life that Newman had become aware of his great literary talent of irony. There is very little trace of it in his earlier Oxford works. Yet in its use in this pamphlet, he proved himself a master of the craft, keen, finished, giving it a rapier-like edge which almost appals the reader. He points out that the Sermon in question was not preached when he was a Catholic; by quoting from it, he proves there is nothing to justify Kingsley's charge; he accuses Kingsley of implying that he took the word of a liar who did not profess to lie because they were both English gentlemen. The "Reflections" has become a classic in irony.

In fairness to Kingsley it must be emphasized that his point of view was almost diametrically opposed to that of Newman, and he was not capable of grasping or appreciating those values by which Newman's life was regulated.

One of his biographers puts it thus:

To Kingsley, as to most of his contemporaries, and to a large fraction of the British race today, the concept of the gentleman was the fundamental philosophy of life....Throughout his combat with the Roman priest, he was totally unable to





conceive that Newman was concerned with issues so large that gentlemanliness melted into air. 1.

This difference in mentality is also emphasized by one of Newman's biographers:

Kingsley had an odd theory...that a hearty English squire who does his duty, not only to the land but to the tenants and the labourers on his estate, is the nearest thing to a saint which the world can produce, and it is not easy to imagine any ideal more different from Newman's. 2.

Realizing Kingsley's viewpoint, one can appreciate the consternation and sense of injury with which he read the Pamphlet. He was dumbfounded. The code by which he had acted all his life had been broken by his opponent. The Romish priest had not only spurned what Kingsley considered to be a generous and public apology; his very words had been exposed to public ridicule. Did honor no longer exist among English gentlemen? Yet, it is possible that, even now, he would have ignored such a breach of good manners had not an unforeseen intervention made it necessary to justify his conduct: the press took up the issue; the pamphlet was discussed publicly.

One editor, in particular, considered it worthy of detailed consideration; paradoxically, he was a known admirer of Charles Kingsley. Richard Holt Hutton (1826-97), editor of The Spectator, a Liberal in politics and a whole-hearted supporter of Maurice's school of Theology, was one of the most influential journalists of his day. But admiration for the victim did not prevent him from

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1. Margaret F. Thorp, Charles Kingsley, Princeton University Press, 1937, 153.

2. R. H. Hutton, The Two Great Oxford Thinkers, Cardinal Newman and Matthew Arnold, London, 1887, 226. (quoted in Harrold, 304.)



editorializing as follows:

Mr. Kingsley has just afforded at his own expense a genuine literary pleasure to all who can gain intellectual pleasure in the play of great powers of sarcasm, by bringing Father Newman from his retirement and showing not only one of the greatest of English writers, but perhaps the greatest master of delicate and polished sarcasm in the English language, still in full possession of all the powers which contributed to his wonderful mastery of that subtle and dangerous weapon. Mr. Kingsley is a choice, though perhaps too helpless, victim for the full exercise of Father Newman's powers....A more opportune ram for Father Newman's sacrificial knife could scarcely have been found.

Mr. Kingsley, in the ordinary steeplechase fashion in which he chooses not so much to think as to 'splash up' thought - dregs and all - (often very healthy and sometimes very noble, but always very loose thought) in one's face.... The Sermon in question, which we have carefully read, certainly contains no proposition of the kind to which Mr. Kingsley alludes....We must say that the whole justice of the matters seems to us on Dr. Newman's side....And yet it is impossible not to feel that Dr. Newman has inflicted almost more than an adequate literary retribution on his opponent. 1.

Other comments were in Newman's favor, though in a less enthusiastic vein. They had varied impacts on the two principals.

Newman could hardly have been prepared for such a strong verdict as to the justice of his cause. His protagonist was a popular writer and the press would certainly not have gone out of its way to display friendliness towards one whom they had ignored for years. It reaffirmed his confidence in the British sense of fair play. Furthermore, The Spectator, by allowing for the only possible criticism of his defense - his ruthlessness in irony - emphasized the justice of his main position. Such a reception proved to be a decisive factor in determining his future actions in the controversy.

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1. The Spectator, Feb. 20, 1864 - quoted: W. Word, Life of John Henry Cardinal Newman; London: Longmans, 1913, II, 5-6. Henceforth referred to as Word.)



To Kingsley, the public reaction came as a distinct shock. His conduct was being questioned, his ethics impugned, and his intelligence derided. Such criticism was intolerable! He experienced the dismay of any popular idol whose sincere action is greeted by critical silence broken only by unmistakable murmurs of disapprobation among his followers. He would show them just how wrong their judgment had been. The self-appointed champion of British integrity would show up this renegade supporter of a foreign cause for the despicable casuist that he was. To a friend, he indicated his intention:

I am answering Newman, now, and though, of course, I give up the charge of conscious dishonesty, I trust to make him and his admirers sorry that they did not leave me alone. I have a score of more than twenty years to pay, and this is an instalment of it. 1.

Kingsley was a facile writer; if he consciously gave up the use of one weapon, plenty more were available. He had his own memories of the turbulent religious era and of Newman's part in it; in addition, he had access to the latter's published works both those printed while he was a Tractarian leader and since he had gone over to Rome. He turned to his task with an acute sense of outrage and fiery indignation. We know, from Mrs. Kingsley, that he was not in the best of health but that he drove himself to the work with raging determination. He rushed into print with, "What, then, Does Dr. Newman Mean?", (the Pamphlet of Accusation of the Apologia.)

It is necessary to get some idea of its tone and temper in order to appreciate the effect it produced and the provocation under which

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1. Quoted by Father Ignatius Ryder in his Recollections; Ward, II, 8.





it placed Newman. Every line of the diatribe recalls to mind the burly gruff voice of 'sturdy British commonsense' blurting the hypocrisy of an adversary and implying that the speaker is holding himself in with great effort in order not to be openly contemptuous.

The general trend of his argument is that the average, frank, unsophisticated son of 'John Bull' would have received the identical impression of Newman's words that Kingsley did. Therefore, if he is so generous as to accept Newman's disclaimer of their apparent meaning, what, then, DOES the man MEAN? He goes on to point out that, in Wisdom and Innocence, Newman admits that Christians have been charged with cunning, but that this is merely the worldly person's opinion of the arts of the defenceless; to the cleric, anyone outside the pale of the Church is worldly. His aversion increases as he ranges farther afield. He treats the Puseyite Lives of the Saints, edited by Newman in 1843, as a combined tissue of infantile folly and perversion of history, ignoring the philosophical grounds upon which Newman bases his readiness to credit the statements contained in it. Furthermore, Newman's candid admissions of corruption and degeneracy in the Catholic Church in his Religious State in Catholic Countries is, to Kingsley, proof of admiration for the crimes of Italian criminals. He goes on and on in the same vein, piling up a weird picture of Roman rascality, belief in the miracle of St. Januarius' blood, the practice of fatuous mariolatry, the precedence of Church over Bible, the justification of equivocation. The whole Pamphlet has, as its thesis, that Newman must be either a fool or a knave -- a fool if he believed, a knave if he was giving but lip service to such monstrous beliefs. Allowing for the haste in which the Pamphlet must have been compiled, and the extravagances which might be





expected from the ire which motivated it, one can only conclude that Kingsley, with the veneer of diplomacy scratched off, was unwittingly and unwisely too frank. It was anti-Catholicism in its most prejudiced form - the ranting of an outraged bigot who gives vent to his prejudice in such blatant form as to alienate those who normally would agree with him.

Again, R. H. Hutton took him to task in The Spectator. His words express the general opinion of the English press:

Mr. Kingsley replies in an angry pamphlet which...aggravates the original injustice a hundred-fold. Instead of quoting language of Dr. Newman's fairly justifying his statement, he quotes almost anything of any sort...that will irritate English taste against the Romish system of faith...raises as large a cloud of dust as he can around his opponent, appeals to every Protestant prepossession against him, reiterates that 'truth is not honored among these men for its own sake,' giving a very shrewd hint that he includes Dr. Newman as chief among the number, and retires without vindicating his assertion in the least...his latent assumption being that whatever Mr. Kingsley could say in good faith it could not have been unjustifiable for him to say...holds it quite innocent...to blurt out raw general impressions, however inadequately supported, which are injurious and painful to other men on condition they are his own sincere impressions....Mr. Kingsley has done himself pure harm by this rejoinder. 1.

Kingsley had, indeed, overreached himself. Newman, the victim of the virulent attack, was not shattered; rather, he became the object of widespread sympathy and solicitude.

Now, it must be remembered that the core of Newman's concept of the universe was 'the providential system of the world' as he calls it in his Grammar of Assent. This meant, to him, that every

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1. Quoted in Ward's II, 11-12



thing in this life has been allotted its specific purpose. Years later, he put his finger squarely on the significance of the events in the early months of 1864 when he spoke of Kingsley having been

accidentally the instrument, in the good Providence of God, by whom I had an opportunity given me...of vindicating my character and conduct in the Apologia. 1.

It has already been mentioned that Newman's hypersensitive nature must have harbored the wistful hope that some day he would have the opportunity of vindicating his actions. Such a hope is the natural concomitant of an austere character which enables a man to exact from others and himself render whatever painful service or sacrifice justice and his conscience may demand. It is reasonable then to think of Newman as pondering this moment in his personal life which must be taken at the 'flood.' It was not merely an opportunity; it was an act of Providence. It must be accepted with a sense of divine urgency lest it be lost forever and be condemned to the limbo of discarded graces. The inchoate desire must be given expression not only from human motives but as a religious duty.

But how? He was a master of two means of human expression - the tongue and the pen. Which would be more effective in accomplishing his duty? Many anxious hours must have been spent in exploring the possibilities of each. One can conclude that the idea of answering Kingsley by a series of Lectures finally lost out (in spite of its more satisfying personal appeal) because of the ephemeral nature

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1. Quoted in Ward, II, 13-14



of the spoken word and the limited audience that could be reached in those days of no radio. In a letter to Mr. Hope-Scott on April 12, 1864, he explains that his final decision was based on the "nature of my intended publication":

the plan of lectures was hot, and I had all but determined on it, but I was forced to abandon it from the very nature of my intended publication....Men who know me, the tip-top education of London and far gone Liberals, will not accuse me of lying or dishonesty but, e.g. the Brummagens and the Evangelical Party, etc., etc., do really believe me to be a clever knave. Moreover, I have never defended myself about various acts of mine, e.g. No. 90, so I am actually publishing a history of my opinions. Now it would have been impossible to read this out. 1.

In conclusion, it is evident that Newman was not one to shrink from a challenge, particularly when, in this case, it was in accord with his concept of Providence. To appreciate the magnitude to the gage which he picked up, it is necessary to take a short glance at the Englishmen of his time who would constitute his reading public. Kingsley was destined to go down in history as "the embedded fly in the clear amber of his antagonist's apology." 2. To appreciate the obstacles which Newman had to overcome in order to accomplish this self-justification, it is necessary to take a brief glance at the Victorian public before whom he must present this defense.

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1. Quoted in Ward, II, 13-14.

2. Quarterly Review, October, 1864 (as quoted in M. F. Thorp, Charles Kingsley, Princeton University Press 1937, 158.)







### NEWMAN'S POTENTIAL AUDIENCE.

It is evident then from his own statement that Newman resorted to the written word in his reply to Kingsley for the primary purpose of reaching as large an audience as possible. In other words, he deliberately selected every literate member of the British public as his judge and jury. As the defendant in the case and acting as his own attorney, his action in selecting such a court in which to present his case was based upon two assumptions: his confidence in his ability to offer a competent defense, and his faith in the innate sense of justice and fair-mindedness of his compatriots.

It will be the purpose of this chapter to consider, first, the literary adaptability which justified his being self-confident to the point of gambling his reputation on an appeal of such a nature; secondly, it will be necessary to look at his 1864 audience with a view to understanding their suspicion of anyone who undertook the role of apologist for the Roman Catholic faith.

Newman has often asserted that he never aspired to be a man of letters; that he never wrote or could write anything without a distinct motive in writing. He was definitely what we would call an occasional writer, devoting himself to a specific task when impelled to do so by a contemporary event or circumstance, as it affected his personal life or the project in which he was engaged -- spiritual, ecclesiastical, or educational. Success in this field of literature presumes, as a characteristic, the ability to adapt one's tone and style to the particular audience to which appeal is being made. This adaptability can be traced in Newman by a



glance at some of his earlier works. At Oxford, those who crowded into St. Mary's to hear him formed a highly cultivated congregation; his Sermons, there, are restrained, refined and make a definite appeal to the intellect. In direct contrast are his Sermons delivered at Birmingham, where his audience was made up of the general population of a commercial city; for this less fastidious group, the Sermons were of a popular, pictorial, almost scenic type. As would befit the educator on the university level, his Dublin University Lectures are formal, academic and precise. Finally, his Lectures on The Present Position of Catholics in England, designed for a mixed audience of Catholics and non-Catholics and aimed at dispelling the misconceptions of the newly re-established Hierarchy (1851), are highly informal, satiric, and humorously ironic; they neither demonstrate doctrine nor refute charges, aiming rather to portray the ludicrousness of the Protestant attitude towards Rome.

His audience, in 1864, was the general English public, and Newman was thoroughly English by heritage and temperament; in fact, he is incomprehensible apart from English traditions. British restraint and reserve were prominent traits which stand foremost of his actions and writings. The devotional exuberances of his Latin co-religionists were a continuous source of repugnance to him. Dean Church wrote of his temperamental attachment as follows:

His profound sympathy with the religiousness which still, and with all the immense shortcomings of English religion, marks England above all cultivated Christian nations, is really the bond between him and his countrymen. 1

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1. Deam R. W. Church, Occasional Papers, II, 466 (as quoted in: John Henry Newman: Centenary Essays, London, Burns, Oates and Washbourne, 1945, 84.)



He possessed those characteristics implied in such sayings as 'every Englishman is an island' and 'the Englishman's home is his castle.' One of the most poignant passages in the Apologia is that which describes the invasion of his personal privacy during his residence at Littlemore in 1842. One can grant his sincerity in this description of the English character:

...my own countrymen...the most suspicious and touchy of mankind...unreasonable and unjust in their seasons of excitement; but I had rather be an Englishman (as in fact I am) than belong to any other race under heaven. They are as generous as they are hasty and burly; and their repentance for their injustice is greater than their sin. 1.

Yet, he was fully aware that this audience varied considerably as individuals. Not only would his readers be definitely recognizable friends and foes; there would be "well-wishers, lovers of fair play, sceptical cross-questioners, interested inquirers, curious lookers-on, and simple strangers, unconcerned yet not careless about the issue." There would be "high and low," "young and old," "shallow and flippant." 2.

Furthermore, it can be safely conjectured that that portion of his audience whom he would keep in mind as the particular object of his appeal, and the group he was most desirous of convincing, were the graduates of his beloved Oxford and of Cambridge. In Newman's day, this group dominated every phase of public life in England. The men with whom he had been associated as a student and tutor were,

1. J. H. Newman, Apologia Pro Vita Sua, ed. Wilfrid Ward, Oxford Edition, London, Frowde, 1913, 88. (Henceforth referred to as Apologia.)

2. Apologia, 101.





in the 1860s, the clergy of the Established Church, the Cabinet Ministers and members of Parliament, the bankers and the bureaucrats, the writers and the journalists. Their loss as friends and companions had been a great sacrifice, perhaps the highest price he had paid upon his submission to Rome.

To one who thinks of education in terms of the general mediocrity which is attached to that term in America, it is difficult to evaluate the quality which made the literate Victorian a member of the finest audience any writer could ever have. This audience had the alertness of intellect and depth of penetration which only a lifetime of training in the Humanities can produce. It brought these traits into play in every sphere of human thought. Every issue of the day was followed with intelligent interest, particularly those issues which dealt with the theological, social, scientific and cultural life of the era. We moderns experience difficulty in appreciating the interest that Victorians found in hearing lengthy Sermons, reading religious tracts, abstract tomes, lengthy 'three-decker' novels and serious journals. They were not afraid of large volumes and many of them. Any article or work associated with current issues was assured of serious consideration and outspoken approbation or criticism. Such a responsive audience was a source of inspiration to any writer. He was aware of and relied upon a wide forum of readers who were endowed with an extensive background of knowledge. One biographer writes:

It was the existence of this public which lent to the characters of the Victorian writers a perceptible consciousness, denied to many of their successors, of being heralds of large ideas on a large stage, and it was to this





consciousness that they owed in part at least the quality of impressiveness, of appeal, which distinguishes them. In this respect, if in no other, Newman is typical of the literature of his age. 1.

The writer of religious works derived particular benefit from such an audience. There was no need to define theological and ecclesiastical terms for it. The religious character of Victorian education, the constant presence of religious controversy in books, periodicals, and newspapers, and the far from indifferent attitude of such an audience to any phase of Religion, guaranteed the possession of an understanding of such theological terms as: Apostolic Succession, Baptismal Regeneration and Final Perseverance. An index of the interest of Victorians in religious matters may be obtained from the fact that in the decade, 1840-50, approximately twenty five percent of the total output of books in the United Kingdom dealt with religious subjects.

Yet, it would be wrong to attribute the reading habits of the people of that time to the leisure and calm we generally associate with literary pursuits. They lived in an age of great flux. It was a period of extraordinary growth in prosperity, in general improvement in the standard of living, in man's control and mastery of his environment. The middle years of the last century in England were years of profound material revolution which, in turn, created vast social and political problems, unsolved to this day. Seeking solutions in social truths as instruments of social reform is the key to the eager reception and study of every newly advanced

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1. Bertram Newman, Cardinal Newman, London, G. Bell, 1925, 201.



theory. Yet, though this growth of social awareness led to a great diversity of viewpoints and multiple panaceas, there was a leavening influence which pervaded the generation, its conscience:

The 1860s in England showed an inextricable weaving of threads, of factions which seem leagues apart in philosophy...Rationalism, Evangelicalism, Utilitarianism...Agnosticism, revolve around each other in an extraordinary dance, now setting to partners, now furiously attacking one another....What binds the period into a whole is the moral sense, the social conscience which animated the middle class: the need for self-justification, the strain of puritanism, ran through everything. If the English of our period believed in Mammon, they also believed, to as great an extent, in God; they worshipped both. 1.

Nothing in Newman's works would indicate that he was living through the seething times of Disraeli's Sybil, Mrs. Gaskell's Mary Barton, Dicken's Hard Times or Hood's Song of the Shirt.

In the midst of what has been termed the 'Age of Sociology' because of the social earnestness of the time, he seems unmoved by such events as Parliamentary Reform, the Repeal of the Corn Laws, the Chartist Agitation, the growth of Popular Education, the development of Local Government, the Factory Acts and the triumphant advances of democracy, industrialism and technology. Yet, he was no intellectual recluse; he could not be indifferent to such changes in the lives of his compatriots. It was simply that his great concern was not with worldly matters but with the affairs of the human soul, human destiny rather than temporal activities. It is apparent, however, that he is aware of the forces at work; such passages as the following attest to this fact:

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1. E. Batho and B. Dobree, The Victorians and After, 1830-1914, 2nd rev.ed; London, Cresset Press, 1950, 32-33.



What largeness of view, what intrepidity, vigor and resolution are implied in the Reform Bill, in the Emancipation of the Blacks, in the finance changes, in the Useful Knowledge Movement, in the organization of the Free Kirk, in the introduction of penny postage and in the railroads! This is an age, if not of great men, at least of great works. 1.

Finally, Newman had been interested in education all his life. His continuous activities in the fields of secondary and university education would necessitate a constant awareness of current events, of new discoveries in science and knowledge, of the latest trends in contemporary thought.

Yet, Newman's great concern was not with the practical social movements but with the intellectual difficulties in modern religious belief. He considered his mission was to check the growth of a purely secularist view of man and society; it was to secure the influence of the Christian faith in an age which threatened to forsake that for the tenets of agnosticism and skepticism.

The great struggle of the Sixties was Science versus Religion. This involved a basic issue in which the internal dissensions and quarrels within the Christian Churches had become subordinated to the much greater cleavage of Belief or Unbelief. Rationalism and Agnosticism were, to the Christians, a gross form of materialism; on the other hand, to the rationalists, Christianity was outmoded, anti-progressive and full of superstition. A growing number of men and women in public life were making no secret of their rejection of every form of 'institutional religion' and, in novels and poems as well as in treatises of natural science and social philosophy,

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1. J. H. Newman, Historical Sketches, London, Longmans, Green and Co., 1890, III, 591.







were openly planning and working towards the so-called millenium of the non-religious age. The battle revolved around the field of Biology and became a major issue with the publication of Darwin's The Origin of Species in 1859. His concept of Evolution was immediately merged with, and strongly reinforced the Utilitarian theories of Bentham and Mill. In 1863, Newman was in the midst of a personal orientation of the discoveries of science with religious belief, his thesis ever being that any seeming dissonance between the two fields was due to human finiteness of mind rather than any incompatibility. He found a want of simplicity in the idea of "the creation of trees in full growth or of rocks with fossils in them." It was to him, "as strange that monkeys should be so like men, if there was no connection between them historically, as to suppose there was no course of history by which fossils got into rocks." 1.

There was, however, one banner under which the 'sensible, kind-hearted, well-intentioned' Protestants of a century ago in England were united--anti-Catholicism. Suspicion of the Roman Catholic Church had been a predominant factor in England's domestic and foreign policy since the time of the Tudors. C. C. F. Greville, one of the outstanding diarists of the first half of the nineteenth century, makes numerous references to the prejudice and ignorance which engendered the spirit of anti-Catholicism. He describes the form the public reaction usually took in his account of the reception of the papal bull of 1850.

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1. Note written in 1863; Dublin Review, July '34; quoted Centenary Essays.



The Protestant agitation has been going on at a prodigious pace, and the whole country is up: meetings everywhere, addresses to Bishops and their replies, addresses to the Queen: speeches, letters, articles, all pouring forth from the press day after day...a disgusting and humiliating manifestation; it is founded on prejudice and gross ignorance. 1.

Newman gives us a vivid picture of this state of mind and its pervasiveness in English life:

I am treating of the unpopularity of Catholicism now and here, as it exists in the year 1851, and in London, or in Edinburgh, or in Birmingham, or in Bristol...; among the gentlemen and yeomen of Yorkshire, Devonshire and Kent; in the Inns of the Court, and in the schools and colleges of the land; and I say this Tradition does not flow from the mouth of the half-dozen wise, or philosophic, or learned men who can be summoned in its support, but is a tradition of nursery stories, school stories, public-house stories, club-house stories, drawing-room stories, platform stories, pulpit stories; - a tradition of newspapers, magazines, reviews, pamphlets, romances, novels, poems, and light literature of all kind, literature of the day; - a tradition of selections from English classics, bits of poetry, passages of history, sermons, chance essays, extracts from books of travel, anonymous anecdotes, lectures on prophecy, statements and arguments of polemical writers, made up into small octavos for class-books, and into pretty miniatures for presents;...which we found in being when we first came to years of reason; which has been borne in upon us by all we saw, heard or read, in high life, in parliament, in law courts, in general society; which our fathers told us had ever been in their day.... 2.

Can anyone be under the misapprehension that Newman was ignorant of the audience for whom he undertook to write the Apologia?

Some events of the nineteenth century had intensified this attitude and fanned this tradition of hostility into a fiery issue. When the century opened, the Catholics had been:

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1. C. C. F. Greville, The Greville Diary, edited by P. W. Wilson, London, Heinemann, 1927, (entry for Nov. 2, 1850), II, 306-7.

2. J. H. Newman, The Present Position of Catholics in England, New York, The American Press, 1942, 66-67.



"found in corners, and alleys, and cellars, and the housetops, or in the recesses of the country; cut off from the populous world around them, and dimly seen, as if through a mist, or in twilight, as ghosts flitting to and fro..." 1.

Their chapels were few and far between and purposely located where they were unlikely to attract observation. George Eliot, in Felix Holt, includes the remark that 'Till the agitation about the Catholics in '29, rural Englishmen had hardly known more of Catholics than of the fossil mammoths.' The political emancipation of Roman Catholics in that year marked the start of a great change in their social condition; their ostracism began to be alleviated. Then a series of publicized events served to focus attention on them.

In the first place, the Tractarian Movement of the Thirties which, despite the fact that it was entirely concerned with internal reform in the Anglican Church, became inextricably associated with a movement towards Catholicism; this was due to the secession of Newman and other Tractarians from the Anglican to the Roman Church. The prevalent public opinion was that the entire Established Church had just barely managed to avoid being inveigled into the Papal fold by the insidious eloquence of a trusted leader. Newman was well aware of this feeling, of this:

...opinion of me and my writings...the impression of large classes of men; the impression of twenty years ago and the impression now. There has been a general feeling that I was for years where I had no right to be; that I was a 'Romanist' in Protestant livery and service; that I was doing the work of a hostile Church in the bosom of the English Establishment and knew it, or ought to have known it...there was some underground communication between

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1. Occasional Sermons, 173.





Stonyhurst or Oscott and my rooms at Oriel...they themselves had the proof in their hands that I was actually a Jesuit. 1.

The re-establishment of the Roman Catholic Hierarchy in 1851 was another incident which aroused violent Protestant reaction in every stratum of society. The undiplomatic handling of such a delicate matter by the Roman authorities only served to add fuel to the flames. This was the result of the Emancipation! That had been the thin edge of the wedge. Here, now, was a foreign power usurping authority and arrogantly assuming jurisdiction. The reaction resulted in a wave of disorder throughout the land, urged on by a definitely aroused press. Disraeli (Endymion, Ch. 99) mentioned that before the first of January, 1852, barely three months after the proclamation, there had been nearly seven thousand public meetings asserting the supremacy of the Queen and calling on Her Majesty's Government to vindicate it by stringent measures.

Not only was the event badly handled; it was also badly timed. Widespread dissatisfaction had been engendered by the recent influx of thousands of Irish Catholic workers who took refuge from famine conditions in Ireland by seeking employment in England's industrial areas. They were:

"a set of poor Irishmen, coming and going at harvest time, or a colony of them lodged in a miserable quarter of the vast metropolis." 2.

The wholly undesirable social and economic problems created by this migration were resented and renewed antipathy against both the race

1. Apologia, 95.

2. Occasional Sermons, 171.





and religion of the newcomers. Moreover, there must be kept in mind the strong moral support which both the Parliament and press was giving the 'Papal Aggression' struggle in Italy. Modern Italy acknowledged such support to be of greater value than any material support she received from such other European countries as France.

Newman, assuredly, could have had no illusions about the nature of the opposition he could expect from such an audience, enclosed in the grip of the varying forces which created such problems in their emotional and intellectual life. In considering the methods he used in the Apologia, it will be noted that his intimate recognition of the temper of the British public dictated his tone of frank candour and his 'man to man' approach. He realized that the only hope of impressing his British readers was to put them on their mettle - to make it a point of honor with them to be impartial, if for no other reason than his obvious dependence on their fair play. Either servile recriminations or a better-than-thou attitude would have been spurned. Rather, he chose to speak to his peers as a fellow seeker after truth.

To Newman's insight into the nature of his audience may be attributed several decisions in his strategy on this occasion:

In the first place, despite the favorable atmosphere of attention and sympathy which the intervention of the press had created, a defender of the Catholic priesthood from the charge of duplicity before such a jury as the general British public was still at a heavy disadvantage. Success would depend upon the establishment of a receptive attitude. To accomplish this,



Parts I and II (the Preface in the 1865 edition) were devoted to a graphic portrayal of his plight. He came as a reluctant plaintiff, gratuitously assailed and slandered, to plead his cause before a trusted tribunal, the British public noted for its sense of justice and fair play. He emphasized that the contest had been dishonourably provoked by the crude, rough, blundering, impulsive and prejudiced mind of his adversary; honor alone forced him to meet the challenge, despite his unpreparedness.

Secondly, John Bull would be expecting to be presented with a finished treatise of special pleading in which Newman's actions would be whitewashed, the Established Church maligned, its weaknesses exploited, and the Roman Church thrown at them as their only hope for salvation. Newman presented them with the opposite. The topic under examination was not to be doctrine but the maligning of the reputation of one of their own compatriots, the unjust interpretation of his earnest search for his own destiny as being motivated by slyness, deviousness, and untrustworthiness. With candor and impartiality he gave them the facts and the sequent history of his journey into the Catholic Church.

Thirdly, it would be difficult to hold the attention of his audience in the course of a sustained defense. Hence, the pamphlet method was chosen, instalments to be issued weekly on the same day, Thursday. This timing would allow for its distribution at a time which would take advantage of an English institution -- the long, quiet, weekend devoted to relaxation and leisurely reading. Such a procedure meant, of course, that each Pamphlet would have to end on a note of promise of unexpected revelations to follow in the next issue.



Fourthly, a pragmatic variation of tone was a necessity. Parts I and II, devoted to conditioning his audience, would be brief, brilliant and passionate. Parts III-VI, the inside story of the gradual changes in his spiritual outlook, would be calmly rational and studiously objective. It would not have been easy to hold the reader's attention in such an account without the preliminary conditioning. Then, since, despite goodwill or interest in the odyssey of one man's search for enlightenment, there could be no evasion of Kingsley's specific charges, they must be met frankly. Part VII would be a general reply to his charges, reasoned and in a calm tone. The appendix would be devoted to sweeping these charges away, one by one, in a tone of contempt which could only be securely adopted after the writer's own reputation for honesty and sincerity had been securely established.

Fifthly, he staked his reputation on his pledge of veracity:

I purpose to set nothing down in it as certain, for which I have not a clear memory, or some written memorial or the corroboration of some friend. There are witnesses enough up and down the country to verify, or correct, or complete it; and letters moreover of my own in abundance, unless they have been destroyed. 1.

In brief, Newman, the general preparing for battle, presents a picture of realistic planning. He studied his audience in the light of their prejudices, code of behavior and habits. Then, confident of his ability to persuade them to give him a hearing, he mapped out his strategy. Before proceeding to a study of the tactics he employed, consideration must be given to the resources he possessed for undertaking the project.





NEWMAN'S QUALIFICATIONS FOR WRITING THE APOLOGIA.

We have already seen that Newman saw in Kingsley's attack a providential chance to vindicate himself in the eyes of the English public; and that his decision to undertake his own defense was made with a full comprehension of those hostile attitudes which he would have to overcome in his readers.

What was the most effective means he could adopt? His decision reflects the wide scope of the reply which his mind had already envisioned:

When first I read the Pamphlet of Accusation, I almost despaired of meeting effectively such a heap of misrepresentation....He called me a liar...for me to answer in detail charge one by reason one, and charge two by reason two...and so proceed...would be certainly labour lost as regards any effective result....I reflected and I saw a way out of my perplexity....He asks me what I mean....My perplexity did not last half an hour....I must give the true key to my whole life: I must show what I am, that it may be seen what I am not. 1.

To understand the Apologia however, it is necessary to remember not only the fundamental aim but also to keep in mind those qualifications, physical, mental and material which could be called upon in carrying out the task. Like a true military strategist, Newman would not have undertaken the prospective battle without a full evaluation of his assets and the confidence that they would be adequate to meet the challenge.

Although of frail physique, a tremendous capacity for intensive

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1. Apologia, 98-99.



work had been a life-long characteristic. The undergraduate who could limit himself to four hours sleep a night during the Long Vacation in order to pursue research and who could maintain a reading schedule of twelve hours a day in patristic writings was a phenomenon, then as now. This pattern of concentrated effort explains, to a large extent, the tremendous scope of his activities and writings. It is only in the light of such previous accomplishments that we can credit his reminiscences that he "wrote from morning to night, hardly having time for his meals." In his diary, he recorded working one day on Part III, "for sixteen hours at a stretch" and on Part V "for twenty-two hours running." Such dogged labor he compared to "ploughing in very still clay...moving on at the rate of a mile an hour when I had to write and print and correct a hundred miles by the next day's post." Nothing but the habit of a lifetime could have sustained the sexagenarian in such a schedule for over two months.

In addition to his capacity for work, certain theories, built up over a period of forty years of experience as an author and orator, could now be put into practice as the occasion demanded. In the first place, a lifetime of dealing with people in the role of protagonist for new concepts had resulted in a definite theory of persuasion. Logical demonstration was an ineffective weapon for a popular audience. Some twenty years before this, he had written:

Logic makes but a sorry rhetoric with the multitude. The heart is commonly reached, not through the reason, but through the imagination, by means of direct impressions, by the testimony of facts and events, by history, by description. Persons influence us, voices melt us, looks subdue us, deeds inflame us. 1.

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1. J. H. Newman, Discussions and Arguments, London, Longmans, Green, and Co., 1912; Letter 6, 89.



Such a realistic view of persuasion prepares us for the technique of objective facts and autobiographical allusions. Holloway indicates how the use of this method was effective in the Apologia:

Newman describes himself seeking patiently and earnestly, over a period of years, for the truth in religion, and makes his readers enter into his confusion, unhappiness or isolation. This is enough to win sympathy for his sincerity, humility, and persistence, but it is not all he does. In its entirety the final point of the account is that someone as honest and clear-sighted and persevering as he was found himself driven, in a direction almost against his will, by arguments that were many in number and complex and subtle in their nature, but that all combined ultimately into one great system with one irresistible conclusion. The portrait of Newman's religious biography becomes a map of knowledge. 1.

A second theory developed by Newman concerned the true nature of biography.

Perhaps I shall be asked what I mean by a 'Life.' I mean a narrative which impresses the reader with the idea of moral unity, identity, growth, continuity, personality. When a Saint converses with me, I am conscious of the presence of one active principle of thought, one individual character flowing on and into the various matters which he discusses, and the different transactions which he makes. 2.

Parts III-VI of the Apologia, as a whole, constitute abundant proof of how Newman applied such an organic treatment to his own self-revelation.

The third theory which Newman put to use in writing the Apologia concerns style. His ideal was to be natural without being too casual or abrupt. Some idea of his general theory may be gained from the following section of a letter which he wrote to the Rev. J. B. Mozley, in August, 1838:

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1. T. Holloway, The Victorian Sage, London, Macmillan & Co., Ltd., 1953, 166-67.

2. Historical Sketches, II, 227.





In what you write do not be too essayish: i.e. do not begin, 'Of all the virtues which adorn the human breast!' - be somewhat conversational and take a jump into your subject. But, on the other hand, avoid abruptness, or pertness. Be easy and take the mean. 1.

It is this type of writing which is best calculated to create an immediate bond of sympathy between author and reader, and to induce a frame of mind which makes the reader thoroughly receptive to what is to follow.

Thus, Newman's lifelong habit of concentrated effort made it possible to withstand the rigorous schedule he imposed on himself; likewise, the theories of persuasion, biography, and style which had evolved from experience now proved of inestimable value. His task was facilitated further by two intellectual qualities which he enjoyed to a very high degree: the power of introspective analysis and a retentive memory of the eidetic type.

As is usual in the sensitive introvert, Newman had amazing introspective powers. Samuel Wilberforce, who knew him at Oxford, makes mention of this quality in his Review of the Apologia: his hold upon any truth external to and separate from himself, was... feeble when placed in comparison with his perception of what was passing within himself.

His memory of specific events, exterior and interior, was sharp and vivid; anything of a personal nature remained with him. Only two years before the Apologia was written, he had visited his boyhood home at Ham, which he had not seen since 1807 when six years old. Yet, he could say, after fifty-four years, that he knew more about it

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1. J. H. Newman, Letters and Correspondence to 1845, New York, Longmans, Green, and Co., 1911, II, 229.



"than any house I have been in since, and could pass an examination in it!" One is frequently struck, while reading the Apologia, by the minute items of behavior or impression which are associated in his mind with some incident, as for example, his reception into the Oriel Common Room. He seems to have shared with Wordsworth the ability to relive old experiences, and to derive consolation and a feeling of restoration through retrospective journeys in thought. Such a quality, possessed by one who has the talent for transferring his thoughts into words, is capable of making the reader feel that he is present at a psychoanalytical session.

Newman's remarkable memory was assisted by the possession of some reference material although he bemoans the fact that it is so meagre:

I have no autobiographical notes to consult, no written explanations of particular treatises or of tracts which at that time gave offence, hardly any minutes of definite transactions or conversations, and few contemporary memoranda...of the feelings or motives under which I acted. I have an abundance of letters...for the most part unassorted ...too numerous and various to be available at a moment for my purpose. 1.

He minimizes the value of what he has on hand; actually, to a writer with his respect for accuracy, the available data must have seemed slim. Yet, he was not altogether without sources of reference. Ever since 1839, he had made a habit of saving and annotating "all that correspondence which I mean to be a document to my heirs." In addition, an urgent appeal to such former Anglican friends as Rogers, Church, Copeland and Keble secured their assistance in insuring the

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1. Apologia, 100.



accuracy of his narration of the events of the Tractarian movement. Moreover, he did possess some autobiographical material; he refers to a memorandum of his religious ideas in childhood and youth written in 1820 and revised in 1823; another available manuscript was his account of his trip to Italy in 1832-33. Therefore, although the documentary material to which he could turn to refresh his memory might seem inadequate to such a fastidious author, Newman appears to have exaggerated its poverty.

In reviewing the habits, theories, and talents, all matured through long experience, which constitute Newman's reservoir of assets, the impression grows that Kingsley's attack did not fall upon a defenseless opponent. The occasion was unforeseen but Newman's physical and mental resources were not slow in rallying for the counter-offensive. In the light of the unique resources which are discussed in this chapter, it can be assumed that Newman's decision 'to give the true key of my whole life' as the only 'way out of my perplexity' was made in full cognizance of his ability to undertake such a mode of reprisal. The concrete method through which he put his plan into reality will form the matter of the next chapter.





THE ORIGINAL APOLOGIA.

The Spring of 1864 was the most gruelling time in Newman's life. For a period of ten weeks, he wrote from morning till night, scarcely taking time out for his meals. The Apologia, at the insistence of his publisher, Longman, had to be completed in an unbroken weekly series of Parts. His plan of action and the schedule he adopted involved many hardships: the reliving of the last three score years of his life--the most painful as well as the most delightful; the tremendous physical strain of consulting those sources of material at hand or available through correspondence; the exhaustion entailed in writing in longhand, at top speed, hour after hour, day after day; the meeting of deadlines for script and proofs. The production of a masterpiece under such conditions is an historic exemplification of literary craftsmanship.

The following is the timetable of publication of the 1864 pamphlets:

April 21:	Part I; Mr. Kingsley's Method of Disputation
April 28:	Part II; True Mode of meeting Mr. Kingsley
May 5:	Part III; History of my Religious Opinions up to 1833
May 12:	Part IV; History of my Religious Opinions from 1833 to 1839
May 19:	Part V; History of my Religious Opinions from 1839 to 1841
May 26:	Part VI; History of my Religious Opinions from 1841 to 1845
June 2:	Part VII; General Answer to Mr. Kingsley
June 16:	Appendix; Answer in Detail to Mr. Kingsley's Accusations

The titles of the pamphlets fairly represent their contents. For those who are unfamiliar with the Apologia, the following comments will serve to indicate the general subject-matter of each.



The first pamphlet is devoted to an expert analysis of Mr. Kingsley's Method of Disputation. He charges that Kingsley has displayed "childish malice" and that his endeavor is to "poison the wells" -- to arouse suspicion of John Henry Newman in the public mind. This is followed by a dignified plea for a fair hearing for one "who has given up much that he loved and prized and could have retained, but that he loved honesty better than name, and Truth better than dear friends." In concluding, Newman airily dismisses Kingsley as an opponent, declaring his intention not to deal with the man as an individual but with his charges.

In the second pamphlet, True Mode of Meeting Mr. Kingsley, Newman explains his decision to answer Kingsley's charges by giving a plain history of the evolution of those religious changes which led him into the Roman Church. When this history has been furnished, his readers can base their judgment of his sincerity upon it. They will then decide for themselves the validity of Kingsley's charge of Untruthfulness, the "only one about which I much care." The tone of personal injury and the strictures on Kingsley which characterize this pamphlet were prominent factors in Newman's resolution to abridge the first two pamphlets in the 1865 edition.

The next four pamphlets proceed in an entirely changed tone, one of calm reasonableness. In them, he describes his search, patient and eager, over a period of some thirty years, for Truth in religion. He readily admits that his subject matter is the Infinite, whereas he, himself, is finite. The frank portrayal of his sense of confusion, unhappiness, and isolation strikes a responsive chord in the heart of the reader and arouses sympathy for the author's sincerity, humility, and persistence. There is an



implication throughout that anyone, endowed with similar qualities of honesty, intellectual clearheadedness, and tenacity, must have experienced in his own life the sensation of being driven, almost against his will, by arguments that were many in number, complex and subtle in nature, towards an irresistible conclusion. Yet, Newman makes no general statements of this theme; rather, by stressing his personal odyssey, he implies the complete individuality of the search. There is no logical argument, no general plan. It is the story of one personality working with complete acquiescence of mind and heart; a quest which accumulates various arguments for limited truths, one by one, until, at last, their total imprint upon the enquirer's mind impels him forward to what has become for him the only possible goal. In writing the pamphlets, Newman divides them on the basis of the epochal turning points in his search.

The third pamphlet begins the story of the evolution of his religious opinions from childhood up to his thirty second year. It is a meticulous account of those minor and major things which influenced him and his career together with the books and men which shaped his mind. There is a graphic account of his experiences at Oxford, first as a student then as a Fellow of Oriel College, later earning distinction as the Vicar of St. Mary's and select preacher to the University. This section, the first chapter of the 1865 edition, constitutes the most interesting part of the book from the viewpoint of the general reader. Newman, the man, is more in evidence. He gives a graphic description of the influence on his life of the Evangelical divines, and later, during his Oxford years, of Whately, Keble and Hurrell Froude. He treats the reader to brief excursions into the era of Bishop Butler and of the Alexandrian Fathers. The





reader sees the earnest young cleric realizing the peril of "Liberalism" to the Established Church. The circumstances of the writing of "Lead Kindly Light" and the account of his trip to Italy, his illness in Sicily and his sense of destiny which motivated his hasty return to England, conclude the account of these years of preparation for his future mission.

The period 1833-39 with which the fourth pamphlet deals covers the era of the Tractarian Movement. Newman provides, in the pamphlet, the inside story of the birth and growth of the Movement. He indicates how the Movement endeavoured to accomplish four ends: to assert the spiritual independence of the Church from the State; to combat the rationalism of Whateley's group at Oxford; to seek a firmer foundation than current theology for the Catholic tradition latent in Anglicanism; finally, to revive the tradition of piety, spirituality, and authority as found in the early Fathers of the Church. There is a detailed account of the writing of the Prophetical Office of the Church viewed relatively to Romanism and Popular Protestantism, a task which occupied him from the beginning of 1834 to the end of 1836. It is this volume which contains his theory of the Via Media. Based upon the three fundamental points of dogma, the sacramental system, and opposition to the Church of Rome, he hoped that the Via Media would establish the foundation of the Established Church, setting it midway between the errors of Protestantism and the corruptions of Rome.<sup>1</sup> Towards the conclusion of this pamphlet, Newman seems to be anticipating himself for he refers to the project which was assuming shape in his mind and which was to be the death knell of the Tractarian Movement--Tract XC.

The fifth pamphlet commences ominously: "I am about to trace,

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1. As developed through the Caroline Divines and the Tractarians.



as far as I can, the course of that great revolution of mind which led me to leave my own home, to which I was bound by so many strong and tender ties....." Newman is preparing the reader for those crises which were to determine his future. First, his doctrine of the Via Media was "absolutely pulverized" when he studied an article in the August 1839 edition of the Dublin Review, entitled "Anglican Claim." In this article, the author, Bishop Wiseman, compares the Anglicans with the Donatist heretics of the fourth century and shattered the analogy which Newman had drawn between the former Church and the fifth century Monophysites. Then, in 1841, to test the temper of the Established Church, Newman published the long contemplated Tract XC in which he suggested that the Thirty-Nine Articles of the Anglican Church had not been originally directed against the Roman Catholic position but against popular errors and exaggerations. He describes the storm of indignation which this Tract evoked against him and the Movement, resulting in its cessation as a force for reform.

The years, 1841-45, during which "I was on my death-bed as regards my membership with the Anglican Church," form the topic of the sixth pamphlet. This is such a painful period for him to relive and reveal that he resorts to a form of documentary record; it reads like a diary. Newman relates, in chronological order, his retirement to Littlemore in April, 1842, the semi-monastic life which he and his friends lived there, the writing of his unfinished Development of Christian Doctrine, his semi-formal retraction of all he had said against the Roman Catholic Church in 1843, and, with rising pathos, his reluctant steps towards submission to the Church of Rome on October 9, 1845.

The first two pamphlets show us Newman, the gentleman, whose



good name has been slandered, in righteous defense of his honour. The next four describe the earnest quest of a lifelong seeker after Truth and the vicissitudes which marked his path. In contrast, the seventh pamphlet, General Answer to Mr. Kingsley, discloses another Newman -- the apologist for the religion which he has embraced.

A more appropriate title for the seventh pamphlet is that which he gave to it in the 1865 edition of the Apologia, "Position of My Mind Since 1845." He describes those beliefs of the Roman Church in regard to which "ten thousand difficulties do not make one doubt" as far as he, himself, is concerned. It is evident that in the writing of this pamphlet, Newman had Kingsley in mind only incidentally; his primary interest seems to be the enlightenment of his readers on various phases of the Roman Catholic Faith. He does not defend; rather, he explains their reasonableness in the light of our finite minds. He ends with an affectionate passage about his patron, St. Philip Neri, and a moving tribute to his beloved priest companions of the Oratory.

A subordinate yet essential duty was the specific rebuttal of the various charges against the Roman Church which Kingsley had made. No matter how reconciled his audience had by now grown to Newman's own actions, these charges must be faced to avoid any imputation of dissimulation or evasion. Delaying consideration of or reference to them until the final pamphlet served to keep them dormant yet viable in the reader's mind. It also served Newman's sense of the dramatic to build up to the final clinching proof that he could dispose of them like so many clay pigeons. He lists eight general divisions of charges then proceeds to treat the individual allegations as so many "blots," thirty nine in all. With the almost contemptuous





disdain of the professional rebuking the foolhardy allegations of an amateur, he proceeds to refute each in turn.

This chapter has been devoted to an inspection of the Apologia as it was received by the reading public of England in the Spring of 1864. The original version was not the product of leisurely research: it was written with a sense of urgency, but, at the same time Newman's capacity for exhaustive and cumulative effort, his persuasive and convincing style, and his undoubted clarity and keenness of mind all helped in the achievement of his purpose, the meeting of the challenge to his name and his interests, and further had the double effect of trampling Kingsley and reviving Newman's renown. The recastings and revisions which will be investigated in the next chapter served to confirm its place in the select rank of English prose classics.



### SUBSEQUENT VERSIONS AND VARIANTS.

Originally the Apologia appeared in seven pamphlets published on Thursdays between April 21 and June 2, 1864, with an eighth, an appendix, appearing two weeks later on June 16.<sup>1</sup> The pamphlets were then published as a single volume. When the reception accorded the 1864 edition assured the Apologia more than transitory fame, Newman set about the task of making what had already been proclaimed a masterpiece into a clearer, more vivid and dramatic story.

In book form, there are three principal versions. The first edition was issued as an Apologia pro Vita Sua: Being a Reply to a Pamphlet Entitled "What, Then, Does Dr. Newman Mean?" (London: Longman, Green, Longman, Roberts & Green, 1864, 430 / 127 pp.) This consists of the first seven pamphlets consecutively paged and the separately paged appendix, including an 'Answer in detail to Mr. Kingsley's Accusations;' notes giving the Latin, French and Italian originals of various passages translated in the preceding section; a list of Newman's works; and a postscript containing Bishop Ullathorne's testimonial letter to Newman. This has become known as the 'Blot' Edition because, in the Appendix, Kingsley's accusations are specified as thirty nine 'blots,' the number being humorously reminiscent of the Thirty Nine Articles of the Established Church and the controversial Tract XC of 1841.

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1. Wilfrid Ward gives June 25 as the date of publication in his 'Life of John Henry Cardinal Newman', London, 1912, II, 28. He is in error.



The second edition was issued as the History of My Religious Opinions (London: Same publishers; 1865, XXIV + 379 pp.) This consists of: a Preface largely taken from Part II and replacing the polemical Parts I and II of the original edition; five chapters (Parts III-VII revised) which form the heart of the Apologia: a series of Notes numbered A to G which represent a recasting of the 'Answer in Detail' so as to eliminate all references to Kingsley, plus two new notes: A and B, "Liberalism" and "Series of Saints Lives of 1843-4," as well as a partially new one: D, "Ecclesiastical Miracles." There is also a section of "Supplemental Matter" including a chronological list of the letters and papers quoted, a list of Newman's works, Bishop Ullathorne's letter, and letters<sup>1</sup> of praise from the various groups of clergy and laity. Svaglic mentions that there are roughly nine hundred changes in the main body of the text, of which almost half are in punctuation. Newman's punctuation is here more rhetorical than grammatical.

The definitive edition was issued as Apologia Pro Vita Sua: Being a History of His Religious Opinions, 1886. It differs from the second edition only slightly in the main body of the text. Throughout the years 1865-86, Newman made some sixty small changes in and additions to the second edition. The principal difference is the series of "Additional Notes" supplied by him between 1869 and 1881. This is the edition which most readers know today. 2.

1. Martin J. Svaglic, "The Revision of Newman's Apologia"; Modern Philology, L, 43-9, Ag '52.

2. Paragraph adapted from M. J. Svaglic, op cit.





The variants in the editions may be considered as major and minor. The major variant is the recasting of the first two pamphlets of the original Apologia into an Introduction in which all references to Kingsley are deleted. The minor variants are specific revisions of the text.

The deletions in the 1865 edition are almost entirely concerned with Kingsley, who is no longer mentioned by name and is alluded to only when necessary as "my accuser" or "a popular writer" or even "my accusers." It is evident that Newman's motive was to embody the work in final form as literature, not controversy. In the Preface to the 1865 edition, he explains,

Did I consult indeed my own impulses, I should do my best simply to wipe out of my Volume, and consign to oblivion, every trace of the circumstances, to which it is to be ascribed; but its original title of "Apologia" is too exactly borne out by its matter and structure, and those again are too suggestive of correlative circumstances, and those circumstances are of too grave a character, to allow of my indulging so natural a wish. And, therefore, though in this new Edition, I have managed to omit nearly a hundred pages of my original Volume, which I could safely consider to be of merely ephemeral importance, I am even for that very reason obliged, by way of making up for their absence, to prefix to my Narrative some account of the provocation out of which it rose.

It is impossible to say how much his decision was influenced by the advice of Newman's friends but it seems definite that the retaliatory features of the original were greatly modified by their apprehension of his severity towards Kingsley. When Part II, appeared in pamphlet form, Sir Frederick Rogers (Lord Blachford) wrote to him in some alarm that the author's extreme sarcasm, his censures on Kingsley, and the display of a sense of personal injury might alienate his readers. Newman recognized the justness of Rogers' criticism, and, though determined to go through with his defence, he declared that he had "no intention of saying another hard word



against Mr. Kingsley." This decision did honor to Newman's heart for "the first fifty pages of the Apologia are one of the most virulent assaults extant in any literature."<sup>1</sup> In any case, it fixed the final form of the Apologia in which Kingsley is banished as a factor.

How did this change in plans affect the Apologia? Which is preferable, an action picture or a portrait? Whether to consider the volume as Literature or as an example of nineteenth century controversy; whether to view Newman in the midst of battle or as a victor--the controversialist in action or the scholar 'tidied up' would seem to depend on the reader's taste.

It is undeniable that the Apologia of 1865 is a more effective book than its predecessor. Yet, it appears to the writer that, detached from the context in which it originally stood, the 1865 edition produces a distorted picture of Newman in the historical role he seems to have been destined to fill as one of the great controversial figures of the nineteenth-century religious turmoil of England. His whole career is so intimately woven into the fabric of this aspect of the Victorian era that the entire historical significance of the Apologia depends upon the contemporary events which brought it into being. Newman, himself, expressly declared in a letter to Sir William Cope, shortly after the death of Kingsley, that "he had had no angry feeling whatever towards Mr. Kingsley, but had used the language of anger as the only method of carrying conviction to the public." This is one more instance of Newman's keen psychological insight into the nature of English Victorians.

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1. Charles Sarolea, Cardinal Newman, Edinburgh, Clark, 1908, 65.



Then, as now, there had to be an element of the spectacular in order to attract and hold public attention; it can hardly be supposed that if the Apologia had started out with Part III it would have achieved the same widespread attention, that it would have been "read in clubs, in drawing rooms, in railway stations, by the clerks on top of omnibuses."<sup>1</sup> The typical human being is attracted by a fight, whether it be fought with fists or phrases.

Finally, from an historical point of view, the deletions and modifications of the later editions deprive the modern reader of the opportunity of truly appreciating Newman's controversial strategy and rhetorical skill and an insight into a vivid feature of nineteenth-century letters. If Literature is truly a portrayal of life, it seems to this writer that one important side of our picture of Newman, essential to an understanding of his personality, has been obscured by the suppression of the more violently controversial passages in the original version of the Apologia. Bertram Newman emphasizes this point of view:

Kingsley's Pamphlet and the belligerent portions of the Apologia...are among the last genuine relics of the heroic age of controversy when combatants went at it hammer and tongs with their energy unabated by any lurking consciousness of a possible case for the other side.

The major changes in the editions subsequent to 1864 have been indicated, earlier in this chapter. Most of the minor changes are slight and subtle; they are given in detail in the 1913 Oxford

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1. John Moody, John Henry Newman, New York, Sheed and Ward, 1945, 226.

2. Bertram Newman, Cardinal Newman, 155.





Edition of the Apologia, published by Wilfrid Ward. By typographical device and footnotes, he indicates the various deletions, additions and replacements or substitutions. In general, the changes are the result of a leisurely polishing-up process by a master craftsman with two aims in view: to improve the fluidity of the text, and to smoothen out the sharper edges of rhetorical controversy. The references in this chapter and in Appendix D are to this edition.

The minor revisions are, in part, the reflection of another characteristic of Newman; he was never completely satisfied with his efforts. The habit of revision was innate in him. For example, we have his own explanation of his method of working in a letter to Mrs. John Mozley in 1838 which indicates the constant dissatisfaction which he experienced with his efforts:

My book on Justification has taken incredible time. I am quite worn out with correcting. I do really think that every correction I make is for the better, and that I am not wasting my time in an over-fastidious way, or even making it worse than it was; but I can only say this - openings for correction are inexhaustible.

I write, I write again: I write a third time in the course of six months. Then I take the third: I literally fill the paper with corrections, so that another person could not read it. I then write it out fair for the printer. I put it by; I take it up; I begin to correct again: it will not do. Alterations multiply, pages are re-written, little lines sneak in and crawl about. The whole page is disfigured; I write again; I cannot count how many times this process is repeated. 1.

If such were his habits with a text which he had prepared at comparative leisure, we can safely assume how inadequate he would think the hastily written first draft of the Apologia. Such an assumption is supported by comments in a later letter, written more

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1. Letters, II, 223.



than thirty years after that quoted above and shortly after the original production of the Apologia:

It is simply the fact that I have been obliged to take great pains with everything I have written, and I often write chapters over and over again, besides innumerable corrections and inter-linear additions. I am not stating this as a merit only that some persons write their best first, and I very seldom do. Those who are good speakers may be supposed to be able to write off what they want to say. I, who am not a good speaker, have to correct laboriously what I put on paper...my one and single desire and aim has been to do what is so difficult - viz. to express clearly and exactly my meaning; this has been the motive principle of all my corrections and re-writings. When I have read over a passage which I had written a few days before, I have found it so obscure to myself that I have either put it altogether aside or fiercely corrected it; but I don't get any better for practice. I am as much obliged to correct and re-write as I was thirty years ago. 1.

Therefore, the differences between the 1864 and subsequent editions may be attributed to habitual method as well as proximate motive. In the light of the last quotation, it is hardly surprising to learn that the minor changes involved in the revisions approximated a thousand in number.

The remainder of this chapter deals with the details of the changes which Newman made. The classification of these changes which the writer has made is neither arbitrary nor rigid; he is conscious of the fact that several of the examples can be listed under more than one category, although each has been used only once. There seems no necessity of making an exhaustive study of all the details of the textual changes here since it is possible to choose examples which will illustrate adequately their full range. A few examples of each type have been included in the text of the present chapter; numerous others are listed in Appendix D.

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1. Letters, II, 426.



Many changes are intended to improve the mechanics of writing: punctuation; consistency in capitalization; accuracy in pronoun references; exactness in time and place references; spelling. The remainder of the changes have as their object the improvement of the style and tone of the Apologia: a revision of phrases; the substitution of action verbs and emphatic phrases; the elimination of personal references; the recasting of awkward phrases and sentences; the clarification of the abstruse arguments of Part VI.

A majority, almost half, of the changes deal with punctuation. Like many orator-authors of the nineteenth century, Newman made use of punctuation to achieve rhetorical effects; his use of colons, semi-colons, the dash and exclamation marks, indicate such an intent. Ward indicates by parentheses the revisions of types of punctuation, the replacement or elimination of commas, and other refinements.

Newman does not seem to have had much success in his efforts at consistency in capitalization; words like 'undergraduate' and 'sermon' are proper nouns in one instance and common nouns a few pages later. In general, his revisions seem to have followed the principle of capitalizing those nouns to which he attached a specific meaning. Thus, for example, he changes "Sentiments," "Truth," "Councils" to common nouns; contrariwise, "antiquity" and "power" become proper nouns. No specific pattern seems to be apparent in his decisions. 1.

Newman seems to have gone out of his way to be painstaking in seeing that there is no possible misinterpretation of a pronoun

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1. Apo., 99, 109, 131, 116, 132.





reference. It is not too obvious that the substitution of a noun for a pronoun is always necessary; but "he" is replaced by "my present accuser" and "them" by "these passages." 1.

It is quite understandable that, in the haste of writing the original version, references to dates, periods of time, and individuals might be inexact. With the leisure to do research and make enquiries, Newman was able to make several corrections. For example: "either in the Long Vacation of 1820 or in October 1823" becomes "written in the Long Vacation of 1820 and transcribed with additions in 1823"; likewise, a vague reference to an individual "A.B." is replaced by the correct name, "Charles Marriott." 2.

Errors in spelling and the tense of a verb are also rectified: "Barbados" becomes "Barbadoes;" "the view which I took of them in 1825-26" is rewritten "the view which I had taken of them in 1825-26." 3.

In addition to the correction of mechanical errors, Newman displays his characteristic principle of expressing his meaning as clearly and exactly as possible in those changes which are grouped under the general classification of improvements in style and tone.

One way in which he did this was by the addition of transitional sentences and the revision of phrases which seemed vague. The original sentence, "Such was the state of my mind, on the publication

1. Ibid., 95, 128.

2. Ibid., 105, 254.

3. Ibid., 142, 123. For additional examples see Appendix D.



of Tract 90 in February 1841," is amplified in the 1865 version by the addition of a further sentence, "I was indeed, in prudence, taking steps towards eventually withdrawing from St. Mary's and I was not confident about my adhesion to the Anglican creed; but I was in no actual perplexity or trouble of mind." 1.

When Newman decided to 'play down' the controversial aspect of the Apologia, he realized that, to compensate for the loss of this appeal to reader interest, the remaining sections would have to be made more vivid and dramatic. He would have scorned resort to the spectacular but there are grounds for belief that his choice of verbs and phrases in the 1865 version was influenced by a desire to make the material more picturesque. It is rather difficult to distinguish the specific changes directed towards this end -- in fact, many of the changes classified in the preceding section as directed towards making the meaning clearer could be included under this heading. In addition, he introduced a few colloquialisms. The examples in this section have been selected because the verbal variants are of such a nature that their general effect tends towards graphic portrayal of a definite position: "to disown Popery" is replaced by "to get rid of Popery"; "in our controversy with her," by "In our controversial attacks on her." 2.

In such a personal account of inner experiences and individual reactions, it is inevitable that the author would be forced to leave himself open to the charge of egotism. In spite of his efforts to be

1. Ibid., 225.

2. Ibid., 179, 170. For additional examples see Appendix D.



objective, it is obviously impossible to eliminate the use of the first personal pronoun without distorting the entire text. The frequent repetition of the pronoun was a source of disgust to a minority of readers; Cardinal Vaughan's reaction is indicated in Appendix C. Newman sought to lessen the number of self-references, either by recasting the sentence or by the substitution of a verb which minimized his part in the action: "my great friend" becomes "an intimate and dear friend;" "What I said to the Bishop of Oxford" is reduced to "what was written to the Bishop of Oxford." 1.

The haste entailed in meeting a deadline has, as a corollary, the lack of leisure for polishing certain phrases and expressions which are unsatisfactory. The original 'Apologia' includes many such phrases and expressions, constituting a defect which the meticulous Newman would be anxious to correct. An obvious redundancy and awkwardness is eliminated in the following: "thought I must have been alluding to," "thought I must have had in mind;" "they were headed as being on 'Church Reform'", "the heading given to them was 'Church Reform.'" 2.

In Part VI which deals with the period 1841-45 Newman traces the complex forces which worked on his intellect during those "death-bed" years. This is the most difficult section of the Apologia for his readers. Despite a maximum effort to concentrate, the meaning continually becomes vague as the author weaves the internal and external influences into an organic whole. Newman was aware of the problem which the readers faced, and endeavored to

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1. Ibid., 130, 265. For additional examples see Appendix D.

2. Ibid., 134, 144.





make his pattern of thought more obvious by the use of two adaptations: he subdivided the period into two major sections, with 1843 as the mid-point; he used a typographical space system to indicate the changes in his line of thinking. A glance at any edition using the revised version of the Apologia will illustrate this change.

In still another way, he altered this section in an attempt to dispel any suggestion of the undue influence of psychological factors upon his conversion. This alteration can be illustrated by comparing a paragraph from the original version with the paragraph he substituted in the 1865 version. It will be noted that the original is rather sentimental whereas the substitution, objective and reserved, indicates the resolution of any hesitancy he may have felt:

And now I have carried on the history of my opinions to their last point, before I became a Catholic. I find great difficulty in fixing dates precisely; but it must have been some way into 1844 before I thought not only that the Anglican Church was certainly wrong, but that Rome was right. Then I had nothing more to learn on the subject. How "Samaria" faded away from my imagination I cannot tell, but it was gone. Now to go back to the time when this last stage of my inquiry was in its commencement which, if I dare assign dates, was towards the end of 1842.

I have nothing more to say on the subject of the change in my religious opinions. On the one hand I came gradually to see that the Anglican Church was formally in the wrong, on the other that the Church of Rome was formally in the right; then, that no valid reasons could be assigned for continuing in the Anglican, and again that no valid objections could be taken to joining the Roman. Then, I had nothing more to learn; what still remained for my conversion was, not further change of opinion, but to change opinion itself into the clearness and firmness of intellectual conviction. Now I proceed to detail the acts to which I committed myself during the last stage of my inquiry. 1.



A comparison of the two versions of the Apologia, the original and the revised, provides a rare insight into the literary habits of Newman as an author. The motivation which led to the various revisions was complex; one was the desire to detach it "from the context in which it originally stood" as Newman defines his desire to rid the work of its controversial aspects; another impelling force was the effort to avert criticism, actual or potential; yet, over and above these motives, there looms the shadow of the literary artist whose reach forever exceeds his grasp. The modern reader can take his choice of the version to which he desires to devote his attention; or he may desire the two versions as in Ward's Oxford edition. Whatever selections he makes, he will become aware of a style directed towards a definite objective. The next chapter will examine the Apologia with a view to discovering how effectively this method was applied by Newman.

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1. Apologia, 292.



### STYLE IN THE APOLOGIA.

The style and method which Newman used in the Apologia played a major role in its success. The reader who opens the book on the basis of its reputation is deeply disappointed. The reason lies in the fact that the subject matter is not particularly appealing. The autobiographical details lack human-interest insofar as they give little information about Newman, the man; the author confines himself rigorously to the matter at hand; the personalities and controversies which move through the pages are strangers, obscured by a distance of more than a century. It is only later that the stylistic charm of the book captivates the attention of the reader. The Apologia is an outstanding example of the power of style over unpromising material. Yet, the style is so deceptive in its simplicity and so varied in its application to topic and mood that a careful scrutiny is essential to detect its qualities. Its use is intuitive and, in Newman's mind, ever subordinated to purpose. The following quotation expresses his attitude towards style:

...I may truly say that I have never been in the practice since I was a boy of attempting to write well, or to form an elegant style. I think I have never written for writing's sake; but my one and single desire and aim has been to do what is so difficult -- viz. to express clearly and exactly my meaning; this has been the motive principle of all my corrections and re-writings....As to patterns for imitation, the only master of style I have ever had (which is strange considering the differences of the languages) is Cicero. I think I owe a great deal to him, and as far as I know to no one else. 1.





This gives us the clue to his style. Writing was, to him, a means to an end, not an end in itself. He was not interested in words or modes of expression for their own sake; these were merely vehicles for thoughts which he wished to express. There was no conscious effort to use them in order to achieve stateliness, dignity or any other effect. The vocabulary which best fitted in with his intention was that of the average citizen of Victorian England. Therefore, with simple language and a clearly defined end in view, he settled down to develop the topic under consideration. To him, the functional use of language is the natural heritage of anyone with a cultivated mind. Actually, he describes himself in the following statement:

While the many use language as they find it, the man of genius uses it indeed, but subjects it withal to his own purposes, and moulds it according to his own peculiarities....The very pulsation and throbbing of his intellect does he image forth, to all does he give utterance...the faithful expression of his intense personality....His thought and feeling are personal, and so his language is personal. 1.

As an occasional writer, Newman always had a clearly defined aim; insofar as it encompassed his audience, it was to create a single total impression which would remain with his audience long after the book had been laid aside. This desired goal is the key to his style and methods. They are designed, not to coerce, but to persuade; to conduct his readers imperceptibly to a vivid conception of his thesis. Tone, imagery and illustration, and forms of argument are fused together to bring about the effect of a single unified experience. Just how he has been made conscious of that experience, the reader is in a quandary to explain; its gradual growth is akin to the

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1. The Idea of a University, New York, Longmans, Green, & Co., 1947, 240-41.



auscultation method a physician will employ in a comprehensive diagnosis of a patient. Seemingly trivial details have no apparent coherence until they integrate; such a style in the hands of a skilled writer is usually described as 'organic.' Matter and its expression are made inseparable parts of a work; what can be isolated as techniques of style are simply the forms of language through which the thought has been expressed.

It is in this sense of an organic style, adapted to the task of winning the sympathy of his readers without expecting their agreement with him, that Newman's techniques in the Apologia must be understood. In pursuit of the end in view, he gives more prominence to persuasion than argument; and the persuasion takes the form of disclosing, delicately but frankly, the various stages in his personal search for Truth. His unique appraisal of audience reaction is ever present in his mind; in fact, it is the guide and measure of his painstaking care and unsparing industry. Gates makes this point clear when he writes:

The shape which his discussion finally took -- the particular methods that he followed -- were the result of a deliberate adaptation of means to end; they were the methods that his trained rhetorical instinct and his insight into the truth he was handling and into the temperaments and intelligences he was to address himself to dictated as most likely to persuade. 1.

The success of this method is apparent from the fact that the over-all impression which the book succeeded in creating was that of candour. There is no preaching, no attempt to defend the author's beliefs or conclusions beyond claiming that, in his case, they were honestly reached after a conscientious search. Errors and difficulties

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1. L. Gates, Newman: Prose Selections, New York, 1895, XVI (as quoted by Harrold) 310.



are impartially admitted whether they concern the author personally, the Anglican and Roman Churches, or Christianity itself. His readers are treated as equals, not inferiors; their personal bewilderment in their own search for Truth in accordance with their conscience is premised. The personal nature of religious conviction is stressed; Newman's road is not necessarily the road for everyone -- although, in the nature of things, some goal awaits every earnest pilgrim. These sentiments were not platitudes newly conceived to placate his present audience for he had expressed them some fifteen years previous:

In religious enquiry each of us can speak only for himself... his own experiences are enough for himself, but he cannot speak for others...he can only bring his own experiences to the common stock...if, as he believes and is sure, it is true, it will approve itself to others also. 1.

This idea of individuality as a consequence of free will and conscience re-appears in the Apologia:

What is a higher guide for us in speculation and in practice, than that conscience of right and wrong, of truth and falsehood, those sentiments of which it is decorous, consistent and noble, which our Creator has made a part of our original nature? 2.

No other method of approach could more effectively appeal to the Anglo-Saxon temperament than this, giving an impression of candour, and assuming that the author's road was not for everyone to follow. The nation whose members cherish the right of personal privacy and respect anyone as long as his efforts are sincere, even though mistaken in goal, found itself selected as Newman's confidant.

1. J. H. Newman, Lectures on Certain Difficulties felt by Anglicans, 4th ed., London, Longmans, Greene, and Co., 1912, I, 344.

2. Ward, Apologia, 249.





It might not agree with him, but, once it was convinced that his conclusions had been reached in accordance with the dictates of conscience, it would guarantee him the right to follow them unmolested. In the light of these general comments it will now be possible to examine the Apologia more closely in order to analyse the techniques which Newman used in the pursuance of his aim.

The occasion, the audience, and the predeterminate method were deciding factors in his strategy; a lifetime of experience and a remarkable store of intellectual and literary qualities were the reservoir upon which he could call. The literary techniques which he employed can be more easily understood by examining: his diction, his use of metaphor and imagery, his syntax, his dramatic structure, and his method of argument.

To reach the man on the street, Newman made use of the prevailing vocabulary of the day. The twentieth-century reader accustomed to the current vocabulary might find his diction difficult; it must be remembered that he was addressing a university-trained audience to whom he gave full credit for being well versed in their native tongue. The tone is conversational, quiet and well-mannered as if the author were indulging in a drawing room discussion. As he relives the experiences he has undergone, re-creating them in his mind and recounting them vividly, the reader finds himself drawn more and more closely to Newman by a bond of sympathy and understanding. This power of bringing the past to life is illustrated, for example, in his account of the invasion of privacy he endured at Littlemore at the hands of reporters and prying Oxonians:



But they persisted: 'What was I doing at Littlemore?'  
 Doing there? have I not retreated from you? have I not given  
 up my position and my place? am I alone, of Englishmen, not  
 to have the privilege to go where I will, no questions asked?...  
 Cowards! if I advanced one step, you would run away. 1.

The effect on the reader of spontaneous speech and actual present  
 talk is enhanced by Newman's free use of colloquialisms. The follow-  
 ing examples, although their impact is diminished when taken out of  
 context, will illustrate the racy and dramatic idiom which he  
 employed:

140: in order to beat up for writers for his publication  
 143: he still...felt...some fidget and nervousness at the course  
 160: I had a lounging free-and-easy way of carrying things on.  
 225: ...who came perhaps for the express purpose of pumping me.  
 261: many of them were...in the same boat with me.  
 276: I was not going to let the Bishop off on this evasion.  
 283: I will not set my teeth on edge with sour grapes.  
 219: I was sore about the great Anglican divines, as if they  
 had taken me in. 2.

The use of colloquial idiom is not the only mark of Newman's  
 style. Since he is portraying what his mind saw and felt, he  
 constantly resorts to figurative speech and other forms of imagery  
 to define his emotions and to project his thoughts. It is fortunate  
 that Newman was a master of metaphor because, in this particular  
 project, it was an almost indispensable aid. It is the naturalness  
 of his imagery and metaphors which enables the reader to absorb  
 what he writes; they are quiet but unobtrusively persuasive.  
 Houghton, in his Art of the Apologia, chooses the opening paragraph  
 of Part V as an outstanding example of how the fusion of idea and  
 feeling is conveyed by the imagery of a whole section and by the use

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1. Apologia, 267.

2. Apologia, Other examples will be found on the following pages:  
 187(21), 141(8), 154(14), 141(8), 154(14), 193(13), 246(17), 264(24)



of metaphor. This paragraph, which introduces the revolution of his mind as it commenced in 1839, brings to life all the poignancy which Newman felt as he surveyed what were the great years of decision in his life. As he confesses, the boldest thing he had ever done in his life was his attempt to recapture this period and transfer it on paper:

And now that I am about to trace, as far as I can, the course of that great revolution of mind, which led me to leave my own home, to which I was bound by so many strong and tender ties, I feel overcome with the difficulty of satisfying myself in my account of it, and have reconciled myself from doing so, till the near approach of the day, on which these lines must be given to the world, forces me to set about the task. For who can know himself and the multitude of subtle influences which act upon him? and who can recollect, at the distance of twenty-five years, all that he once knew about his thoughts and his deeds, and that, during a portion of his life, when even at the time of his observation, whether of himself or the external world, was less than before or after, by very reason of the perplexity and dismay which weighed upon him, - when though it would be most unthankful to seem to imply that he had not all-sufficient light amid his darkness, yet a darkness it emphatically was? And who can suddenly gird himself to a new and anxious undertaking, which he might be able indeed to perform well, had he full calm and leisure allowed him to look through everything that he has written... but, on the other hand, as to that calm contemplation of the past, in itself so desirable, who can afford to be leisurely and deliberate, while he practices on himself a cruel operation, the ripping up of old griefs, the venturing again upon the 'infandum dolorem' of years, in which the stars of this lower heaven were one by one going out? I could not in cool blood, nor except upon the imperious call of duty, attempt what I have set myself to do. It is both to head and heart an extreme trial, thus to analyze what has so long gone by, and to bring out the results of that examination. I have done various bold things in my life: this is the boldest: and, were I not sure I should after all succeed in my object, it would be madness to set about it. 1.





Examination of the paragraph above will show how the connotations aroused in the reader's mind by such expressions as "recoiled" (from his task of tracing his departure from) "his own home" to which he was so closely "bound" until "forced" "to gird himself" for the task become fused in the reader's mind. Newman goes on to describe his state of mind as "perplexity and dismay which weighed upon him," "his darkness," the analysis which was "a cruel operation, the ripping up of old griefs," the venturing again upon the "infandum dolorem" of the painful years of his life.

A totally different emotion -- that of indignation at the violation of his privacy -- will serve to indicate how Newman varies his style to express his mood:

Why will you not let me die in peace? Wounded brutes creep into some hole to die in, and no one grudges it to them.... One day when I entered my house, I found a flight of Undergraduates inside. Heads of Houses, as mounted patrols, walked their horses round those poor cottages. Doctors of Divinity dived into the hidden recesses of that private tenement uninvited, and drew domestic conclusions from what they saw there. I had thought that an Englishman's house was his castle. 1.

Just as the forms of imagery requisite to the vivid expression of his innermost feelings are involved, the syntactical structure of many sentences in the Apologia is deliberately obscure. The clausal arrangement, the length of the sentence and the connectives used therein are designed to provide an external outline of Newman's thoughts. He could write with perfect clarity of form when that method seemed fitting. Yet, in describing certain past events and their action on his mind, it was essential that the wavering under

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1. Apologia, 267. Another excellent example is his description of the years 1833-39 as the happiest of his life. 174.



which he was placed, the stresses and strains to which he was subjected, be objectified. Here, as an illustration, is the result of the simultaneous reading of Milner's Church History and Newton on the Prophecies:

I...became most firmly convinced that the Pope was the Anti-christ predicted by Daniel, St. Paul and St. John. My imagination was stained by the effects of this doctrine up to the year 1843; it had been obliterated from my reason and judgment at an earlier date; but the thought remained upon me as a sort of false conscience. Hence came that conflict of mind, which so many have felt besides myself; - leading some men to make a compromise between two ideas, so inconsistent with each other, - driving others to beat out the one idea or the other from their minds, - and ending in my own case, after many years of intellectual unrest, in the gradual decay and extinction of one of them, - I do not say in its violent death, for why should I not have murdered it sooner, if I murdered it at all? 1.

The preceding aspects of Newman's style, his use of lengthy imagery and the complex syntax which he sometimes employs, seem to be the grounds upon which he is frequently accused of that defective style known as 'tortuousness.' The position adopted in this thesis is that his employment of both techniques had a legitimate end in view -- the accurate portrayal of varied, complex emotions. Newman's method and sense of rhetoric kept full control in the use of the techniques mentioned above. The 'tortuousness' of which some complain is, on the contrary, the utmost refinement of meaning and connotation. Newman is never the victim of a vice which is all too prevalent in our country, oversimplification. The next quality which is to be investigated, his sense of the dramatic, encompasses a view of the work as a unit.

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1. Apologia, 110. Other examples of functional structure to indicate conflicting attitudes are: 252(18-24), 155-56(32-13), 147-48(32-8), 187(9-13), 215(8-16), 225(14-25), 260-61(30-4).



Reference has already been made to the fact that Newman's concept of the universe presupposes a 'providential system;' the world is infinitely complex and varied, yet everything therein has its allotted place. Such a concept is carried over into his personal life and we are told by a contemporary:

He was always waiting for Providential 'signs,' and interpreted whatever happened - an unexpected act, a word, an encouragement, a meeting, a separation, a book or an article as Providentially directed.

This belief in Providence makes it clear why, in reviewing his whole life, he pictures certain crises through which he had passed as scenes of a drama; and, either unconsciously or deliberately, assigns to them definite roles in the unfolding of the plot of his conversion. They are endowed with such dramatic qualities as suspense and climax; Fate is ever present in the guise of Providence. He treats in this manner such incidents as: his illness in Sicily, his return to England in 1833, his reading of Wiseman's article in 1839; the circumstances attendant on Tract XC; and his final submission to the Roman Church.

This theory of Providential direction was strengthened by a personal characteristic, his lifelong interest in the drama. In his schoolboy days at Ealing, he had taken an eager part in the plays of Terence, and, as the principal at Edgbaston, his favorite extra-curricular avocation was adapting similar Latin plays for performance by the students and directing their production.

The dramatic structure of the Apologia, as the Times review, for

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1. T. Mozley, Reminiscences I, 208, (quoted: Harrold, 363.)





example, illustrates, was remarked from the first:

the rush of thought which carries him along is often more like a conversational explosion on the subject of an event or scene of yesterday than a recall of distant memories..it is difficult to believe that No. 90 was not condemned last week...it wants the calm grace of a retrospect. 1.

A researcher on Newman, M. J. Svaglic, gives an interesting viewpoint of the Apologia by drawing an analogy between Parts III-VI and the drama of a soldier who, through defeat and submission, at last finds peace. The following is a precis of his theory:

Part III: Act I: Sets scene of battle and inciting force: Having learned the Catholic conception of the Church from Anglican sources and finding it weak, divided, and state-ruled, he sets out on a crusade to restore it to its pristine vigor.

Part IV: Act II: The rising action: The years 1833-39 are a period of prosperity, confidence, and strength.

Part V: Act III: The falling action: Begins with a foreshadowing of the trials to come. The first qualms start when the analogy of the Anglicans and the 5th century Monophysites fades through research. The attempt to bolster his position by the publication of Tract XC fails. Yet, the errors of Rome repel him.

Part VI: Act IV: Resolution: The soldier is 'on his deathbed.' Logic drives him inexorably towards Rome. Opinion resolves into conviction. The journey ends with his reception into the Roman Catholic Church. 2.

Svaglic's hypothesis appears to be valid, if these sections of the Apologia are isolated as a unit. The prevailing overtone of providential intervention, ascribed to those incidents which Newman

1. Times, London, June 16, 1864, 12 (as quoted by M. J. Svaglic, "Structure of Newman's Apologia." P.M.L.A., March 1951, LXVI 138-148)

2. Adapted from M. J. Svaglic, "Structure of Newman's Apologia," P.M.L.A., LXVI, March '51, 138-148.



views in retrospect as crises in his quest, creates an ideal atmosphere for the introduction of such dramatic elements as conflict, suspense, climax and resolution.

A further illustration of Newman's sense of the dramatic is apparent in the concluding lines of each Part. In reality, as any serial writer is aware, each instalment must end in such a manner that the reader is left with a feeling of expectancy, an anticipation of something new and startling in the subsequent issue. Newman does not disappoint his readers. For example, he ends Part I with the announcement of a reversal of policy:

And now I am in a train of thought higher and more serene than any which slanders can disturb. Away with you, Mr. Kingsley, and fly into space. Your name shall occur again as little as I can help, in the course of these pages. I shall henceforth occupy myself, not with you but with your charges. 1.

Similarly, the conclusion of Part III creates a state of suspense in the reader by its circumstantial detail of his haste to reach England; it is a 'build-up' to what he considers his great mission in life:

At length, I got to Marseilles, and set off for England. The fatigue of travelling was too much for me and I was laid up for several days at Lyons. At last I got off again, and did not stop night or day till I reached England, and my mother's house. My brother had arrived from Persia only a few hours before. This was on Tuesday. The following Sunday, July 14th, Mr. Keble preached the Assize Sermon in the University Pulpit. It was published under the title of "National Apostasy." I have ever considered and kept the day, as the start of the religious movement of 1833. 2.

The final aspect of Newman's style, his form of Argument, is pertinent to one Part of the Apologia only -- Part VII. The importance of this Part lies in the fact that, after tracing those

1.      Apologia, 83.
2.      Apologia, 136.



events of his life which led him into the Roman Church, there still remained the formidable task of answering Kingsley. A related factor was of even greater concern to Newman; a large group of the British public was convinced that his secession from Anglicanism was the result of resentment at the persecution and humiliation to which he had been subjected by the liberal element of the Established Church. By implication, this suggested an over-emphasis of the part which Newman's temperament and psychological reactions had played in his transfer of allegiance. To meet this twofold challenge, Part VII, General Answer to Mr. Kingsley (History of my Mind since 1845) is almost purely apologetic in nature; a vindication of his choice of Roman Catholicism by the dispelling of the more common misconceptions of her beliefs. It is in this section that Newman displays his talents as a polemical writer familiar with all the standard modes of Argument.

He introduces Part VII by admitting that every article of the Christian Creed is beset with intellectual difficulties to both Protestants and Catholics; but ten thousand difficulties, he says, do not make one doubt. He then assumes the role of apologist for the Roman Church and states his purpose to vindicate it, particularly in view of the Protestant accusation that its dogmas and devotions are mired in superstition and hypocrisy. The "main drift" of his defense will be based on the fact that:

I have no difficulty in receiving it (any dogma of the Roman Church): if I have no difficulty, why may not another have no difficulty also? why may not a hundred? a thousand? 1.





Upon this premise, he proceeds to discuss such controversial dogmas as: Transubstantiation, Christ's establishment of one true Church, the miraculous in the universe, Infallibility, the Immaculate Conception, and the truthfulness of the Roman clergy. In his exposition of the Roman Catholic attitude towards each of these, Newman takes the stand that the validity of that attitude is possible because each topic is part of a whole system of thought. The manner in which he handles them has been described by Holloway:

If the reader...wishes to see some particularly striking example of how details in a discursive book can grow together to form a continuous tissue, one brief chapter in Newman may provide what he needs. This is the General Answer to Mr. Kingsley....It is very striking that every fresh turn in the discussion displays one or more of the features of his style of Argument....Every more personal touch helps to control the complex tone, every metaphor or example means more than one thinks at first glance, every piece of apparently negative evidence is transformed into positive, every detail of the argument is represented as naturally part of a great system of thought. Moreover, there is nothing else into which these turns of presentation have to fit. They are the staple of the argument; they make it; they create the homogeneity to which they belong. 1.

Newman's style encompasses many facets in the use of which he displays the skill of a master craftsman adapting the techniques to the requirements of the topic. His use of English, his handling of figurative writing and clausal structure, his flair for sensing the dramatic in routine incidents, and his ability to mould specific arguments into an organic whole are the reasons why he could overcome the material by the sheer power of style: a style which varies with the subject and his mood, yielding to the demands he makes upon it; a style which is, as the occasion demands, conversational, indignant,

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1. J. Holloway, The Victorian Sage, London; Macmillan & Co., 1953, 291.



pathetic, scornful and persuasive; finally, a style which is, above all, so deceptively simple in its subtlety as to be unobtrusive. It is this use of style that convinces the reader of Newman's candour and raised the Apologia to the status of a classic.



### THE APOLOGIA: APOLOGY OR AUTOBIOGRAPHY?

The previous chapters have been an attempt to trace the history of the Apologia and investigate its contents from the standpoints of method and art. Yet, the problem still remains to define the work. Is it an apologetical work or is it an autobiography? In the first place, it should be noted that this question refers to what has been called the 'heart' of the Apologia. It is clear that Newman considered the first two pamphlets of the original version to be introductory to his main theme, The History of his Religious Opinions. Consequently, this problem involves only pamphlets III - VII or, as classified in later editions, Chapters I-V.

In the first place, it must be remembered that Newman's primary purpose was the destruction, not of Kingsley's arguments or charges, but of the "bias of the court." The imputation of "liar" which was a premise of all the charges could not be discredited by a negative reply. To erase this suspicion from the public mind, he undertook to vindicate himself by a positive method -- the explanation of himself, his opinions, and his actions.

Two clear facts arise from the adoption of this plan of action. Since it is a history of his opinions, it cannot be an autobiography in the accepted sense of the word. Very little of Newman as a man sharing the dynamic existence of everyday life will find a place therein. Secondly, argument will be subordinated to self-revelation though it will be always available for use as the occasion requires.





Ever since its publication, critics have disagreed in their attempts to classify it in one or the other field of prose. Ward refers to some readers for whom the Apologia belongs "to the literature of self-revelation, not to apologetic."<sup>1</sup> Gates considers it "an enormously elaborate and ingenious piece of special pleading."<sup>2</sup> The late Anglican Bishop E. A. Knox, concedes that the book ranks "for all time among the greatest of the world's autobiographies."<sup>3</sup> Principal Fairbairn dismisses it as "neither a biography nor an autobiography, but simply what it professes to be, a dialectical apology for a life by the man who lived it."<sup>4</sup> These few examples indicate the divergence of opinion which exist.

If we turn to Newman for a solution to the difficulty, his words and later actions seem to favor those who insist it is a work of apologetics. The fact that he later wrote an autobiography of his life up to the year 1833 lends credence to the belief that he did not consider the third pamphlet an adequate account of that period.<sup>5</sup> Yet, a dynamic account of the spiritual conversion of a man of Newman's character would almost certainly contain those events of his life which were of greatest importance to him. Furthermore, he definitely refers to the Apologia as a history of his mind. The very essence of autobiography -- re-living and

1. Ward, Life, I, 3.

2. L. Gates, Newman: Prose Selections, New York, 1895, XIX, (Quoted: Harrold, 427)

3. E. A. Knox, The Tractarian Movement, vii, (Quoted: Harrold, 313)

4. Fairbairn, Catholicism: Roman and Anglican, 241 (Quoted: Harrold, 313)

5. This brief autobiography is included in the standard volume of Letters and Correspondence, edited by Anne Mozley. See Bibliography.



relating the important events and influences in one's life -- is precisely what Newman set out to accomplish. On the other hand, he insists that "my main purpose...is a defense of myself." Moreover, stating the reason for his choice of title in the Preface of the 1865 edition, he regrets that the "title, Apologia, is too exactly borne out by its matter and structure, and these too suggestive of correlative circumstances..." to detach it from the context in which it originally stood.

Actually, any difference of opinion would seem to be academic in nature. The total impression made on the reader will vary with the latter's religious principles, background and personality; he will not worry whether he is reading an autobiography or an exposition of polemics. He will retain a dominant impression of the Apologia -- that of having been given a glimpse of human life. The powerful personality of Newman overshadows both the elements of spiritual self-revelation and apology.

The author of this thesis has come to the conclusion that it is impossible to classify the Apologia categorically, either as an autobiography or as a work of apologetics.

Newman produced a unique, coherent, unified, and, by the nature of the circumstances which brought it into being, unclassifiable masterpiece.



### WHAT THE APOLOGIA ACCOMPLISHED.

The immediate aim in the publication of the Apologia was the vindication of Newman's reputation as a man of integrity; in this respect, the book was pre-eminently successful. But it accomplished much more; these after-effects have been unforeseen by the author who must have given little consideration to the possible influence which the publication and circulation of the Apologia would have upon English Literature, his own future life, or the cause of Catholicism in England.

Both as a serial and a book, the Apologia achieved an instantaneous and lasting success. As the weekly pamphlets reached the bookstands, they were quickly sold out and became a very live topic of discussion among the literary public of England. As a volume, it has been through many editions and reprintings; translations have appeared in almost every European language. Strachey explains the reason for its continued popularity:

The success of the book, with its transparent candour, its controversial brilliance, the sweep and passion of its rhetoric, the depth of its personal feeling, was immediate and overwhelming; it was recognized at once as a classic, not only by Catholics, but by the whole English world. 1.

The transformation it caused in Newman's personal life was just as startling. It must have been gratifying though rather upsetting to one who had resigned himself to obscurity. Harrold describes it as a revolutionary change:

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1. Lytton Strachey, Eminent Victorians, Penguin Books, London, 1948, 87.





It wrought a veritable revolution in Newman's life and reputation; his fame had a "second spring" almost without parallel in the annals of authorship. Within a few brief weeks he soared from menial obscurity to national attention and to honor among Catholics and non-Catholics. His autobiography made him a front-page figure. His writings now received more attention than they had ever obtained before. Although he held no official position in his Church, his opinion was increasingly sought on any seemingly controversial point in Catholic teaching. The public now saw him no longer merely as a seceder from the Establishment, dwelling in a much-deserved obscurity, but as at once the greatest religious genius of his time and one of the finest masters of the English language. 1.

In addition to enhancing his personal fame, it established his literary reputation:

It fixed the author's place not only in the hearts of his countrymen, but in the national literature. It became the one book by which he was known to strangers who had seen nothing else from his pen, and to a growing number at home, ignorant of theology, not much troubled about dogma, yet willing to admire the living spirit at whose touch even a buried and forgotten antiquity put on the hues of resurrection. No autobiography in the English language has been more read; to the nineteenth century, it bears a relation not less characteristic than Boswell's "Johnson" to the eighteenth. 2.

While the estimate of the Apologia and of Newman, quoted in the preceding paragraphs, seems to express the general reception accorded the book and its author by the English public, there were, at the time of publication and since, a number of individuals who did not share wholeheartedly the opinions expressed above. The opinions of some of these are recorded in Appendix B. Since they are, obviously only individual criticisms, there seems little point to considering them at this stage. However, there was one adverse criticism which remained long in the public mind -- that Newman, in his rapier-like replies, had been unduly severe toward Kingsley.

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1. Harrold, 307.

2. William Barry, "Newman," (Literary Lives) 1904, 133. (quoted: The Library of Literary Criticism, ed. C. W. Moulton; New York: Henry Mallan, 1910, VII, 745.



In fact, Newman and Kingsley never met. But, if we are to take Newman's word for it, he never harbored a personal grudge against his opponent:

I never from the first have felt any anger towards him....  
It is very difficult to be angry with a man one has never seen. A casual reader would think my language denoted anger, but it did not. I have ever found from experience that no one would believe me in earnest if I spoke calmly.  
...I said Mass for his soul as soon as I heard of his death. 1.

The effect of the frank discussion of his conversion in the Apologia was far-reaching. Not only did it re-establish Newman in the esteem of his compatriots; it placed the English Roman Catholics under a great debt to its author. The book has often been referred to as the Magna Carta of every English convert to the Roman Catholic Church since that time. All the readers of other denominations learned, through avid reading and heated discussion of the Apologia, much more about the 'Romanists' than they ever knew before. The general effect is summarized by the Editor of the Modern Readers' Series edition of the Apologia in her introductory remarks:

Many of the writers of his own time and of ours applauded the Apologia for its influence on the English religious situation; in general, though Kingsley's rudeness was deplored, the result was hailed as figs out of thistles. The reviewers in such periodicals as "The Saturday Review", "The Athenaeum", and "The Guardian", as well as in "The Times" saw what is not so evident to our times, its immediate effect on Newman's position first and on that of his fellow Catholics as well. R. H. Hutton...declared that the Apologia "has done more to break down the English distrust of Roman Catholics and to bring about a hearty good fellowship between them and the members of other Churches, than all the rest of the religious literature of our time put together." 2.

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1. Ward, II, 45-46. (Letter to Sir William Cope, Feb. 13, 1875, after Kingsley's death.)

2. Anne B. G. Hart, Apologia pro Vita Sua, The Modern Readers' Series, New York, The Macmillan Co., 1931, xx.





Froude, the review of whose book by Kingsley provoked the controversy which culminated in the Apologia, pays a flowery tribute to Newman:

The immediate result was the publication of the famous Apologia, a defence personally of Newman's own life and actions, and next of the Catholic cause....To him, if to any one man, the world owes the intellectual recovery of Romanism. Fifty years ago it was in England a dying creed, lingering in retirement in the halls and chapels of a few half-forgotten families. A shy Oxford student has come out on its behalf into the field of controversy, armed with the keenest weapons of modern learning and philosophy; and wins illustrious converts, and has kindled hopes that England herself, the England of Elizabeth and Cromwell, will kneel for absolution again before the father of Christendom.... Newman, by the solitary force of his own mind, has produced this extraordinary change. What he has done we will see; what will come of it our children will see. Of the magnitude of the phenomenon itself no reasonable person can doubt. Two writers have affected powerfully the present generation of Englishmen. Newman is one, Thomas Carlyle is the other.... Newman has been the voice of the intellectual reaction of Europe.... 1.

Newman seems secure of his place in history. Yet, less than sixty five years after his death, Newman is remembered, not so much as a prominent controversial figure of nineteenth century England but as the author of the Apologia. Strachey may have spoken the final word on the subject when he said:

If Newman had died at the age of sixty, today he would have been already forgotten, save by a few ecclesiastical historians; but he lived to write his Apologia, and to reach immortality, neither as a thinker nor as a theologian but as an artist who has embalmed the poignant history of an intensely human spirit in the magical spices of words. 2.

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1. T. A. Froude, Short Studies on Great Subjects, London, Longmans, Green, and Co., 1901, IV, 271-72.

2. Lytton Strachey, Eminent Victorians, London, Penguin Books, 1948 ed., 24.





### LITERATURE ON THE APOLOGIA.

Newman's life was so closely associated with the religious controversies of his day that very few authors who have undertaken research of his writings seem able to maintain an intelligent neutrality in interpreting them. Most of his biographers have approached the eminent Victorian with a bias either favorable or hostile dependent on their attitude towards his religious beliefs. Very few attempts have been made to assay academically his contributions to the literary field.

In the case of the Apologia, its fame has earned it a chapter in most of the biographies of Newman. In these latter, attention is focused on the controversial circumstances through which it came into existence. Yet, there have been surprisingly few studies which deal specifically with the Apologia. In seeking information, three rather inadequate and almost inaccessible sources are available: The Press Reviews of the Apologia at the time of the publication of the book; the books, pamphlets, and articles which have dealt with the Apologia exclusively; the Editors' Introductions to the various editions of the text.

The Press Reviews serve to illustrate the reception which the Apologia received upon its initial appearance. They are, in general, laudatory, as might be expected from Editors who set themselves out to be scrupulously fair to Newman whether they accepted his views or not. The most important which are listed in the various works of reference are:



The Times, London. June 16, 1864, page 12. This Review takes the stand that the Apologia is almost too dramatic and wants the calm grace of a retrospect.

The London Quarterly Review, 1865, Vol. XXIII, page 115. This Review is reprinted in The Living Age, Vol. 81, page 147 under the title of "Dr. Newman and Charles Kingsley."

Theological Review, London, Vol. 1, page 306.

The Quarterly Review, London, 1864, Vol. cxvi, pages 528-73. The author is Samuel Wilberforce, successively Bishop of Oxford and of Winchester. W. E. Houghton considers this the best, indeed, almost the only illuminating criticism of the Apologia. It is partially reprinted in: "Famous Reviews," Johnson R.B., ed. 1914, 288-305.

The Saturday Review, 1864, Vol. XVII, page 786.

North British Review, Edinburgh, Vol. 41, page 85.

Westminster Review, London, Vol. 82, page 357.

Dublin Review, Vol. 55, page 156.

Fraser's Magazine, London, Vol. 70, page 265.

Christian Examiner, Boston, Vol. 79, page 343.

Boston Review, Vol. 5, page 31, Tucker, J. T.

Christian Observer, London, Vol. 64, page 661.

Christian Remembrancer, London, Vol. 48, page 162.

The Spectator, London, 1864, Vol. xxxvii, pages 654-56. Hutton R. H. Mr. Hutton wrote a Biography of Newman after the latter's death. It is considered the best written by any Protestant on Newman's Anglican years.

The Guardian, London, June 22, 1864. R. W. Church. Reprinted in his "Occasional Papers," 1897, Vol. ii, pages 379-397. R. W. Church was Dean of St. Paul's and Fellow of Oriel College. His "Oxford Movement, 1833-45" is considered the best brief but accurate account of the Movement.

Books and pamphlets, unless in popular demand, have the drawback of going out of print; magazine articles in old issues of periodicals are often inaccessible except where the issues are preserved in a library. Many of the titles below are, therefore, unavailable to the general reader.



There has been one source of optimism in regard to the study of Newman as a literary figure. The centenary of his entry into the Roman Church rekindled interest in his writings in both England and America. Since 1945, such American scholars as C. F. Harrold, W. E. Houghton, and M. J. Svaglic have published texts or articles on Newman which are based upon sound academic research. A few studies of the Apologia are:

But Isn't Kingsley Right After All? Pamphlet. F. Mayrick, 1864.

Analysis of Dr. Newman's "Apologia Pro Vita Sua." Pamphlet. J. N. D(arby). 1866

Dr. Newman's Apologies. Being four letters commenting on various passages in the writings of Cardinal Newman. Pamphlet. S. Oliver, 1878

Pilgrims of the Lonely Road: Newman's Apologia. Revell, 1913. C. G. Atkins

Art of Controversy: Macaulay, Huxley and Newman. C. Chesterton. Catholic World, New York, July, 1917. Vol. 105, 446-456

The Genius of Cardinal Newman - Personality in Apologetic. Lowell Lectures, London, 1918.

Newman As A Controversialist. J. J. Reilly, Catholic World, June 1923, Vol. 117, 289-304.

Newman's Opportunity. J. F. Mozley, Quarterly, January 1926, Vol. 246, 75-92.

Newman Apologists. J. D. Folghera. Heider-Sands, Paris. 1927. (Trans. 1929 by Philip Hereford and published in London, 1930 with Introduction by Bede Jarrett)

Newman and Kingsley. C. Wright, Harvard Graduate's Magazine, 1931. Vol. XI, 127-134

Three Great Books. (Apologia Pro Vita Sua.) C. F. Boyd, Canadian Bookman, July 1932, Vol. 14, 84-5.

Beginnings of the New Biography (Apologia Pro Vita Sua.) A. Britt, Great Biographers, McGraw (Whittlesey House Publication, 1936, 134-47.





Famous Controversies: Kingsley and Cardinal Newman. N. Annan. New Statesman & Nation, March 25, 1944, Vol. 27, 209.

The Art of Newman's Apologia. Walter E. Houghton, Yale University Press (Oxford University Press, London) 1945. pp. ix, 112, bibliographical footnotes. Contains the first pointed analysis of the dramatic devices of the style of Newman.

Keynote of the Apologia. K. M. Murphy, Catholic World, April 1947, vol. 165, 78-9.

What, then, does Dr. Newman Mean? A. Freemantle, Commonweal, New York, December 19, 1947, Vol. 47, 250-3

Structure of Newman's Apologia. Martin J. Svaglic, P.M.L.A. March 1951, Vol. 66, 138-148.

Revision of Newman's Apologia. Martin J. Svaglic, Mod. Philol., Ag. 52

Poetical Structure of Newman's Apologia. J. Religion, Jan. 1953.

Depending upon the choice of the publishers, the Editions of the Apologia vary in that some use the 1864 text, while others follow the 1865 version. Usually, each is preceded by an Introduction especially written for the particular edition. Some of the authors chosen to write these introductory essays are Newman scholars, while others were selected merely because of their public prominence. As a result, the interests and the knowledge of the writers determine the nature of their remarks and the value of their comments. The quality of these Introductions is very uneven. The following list is offered as an indication of the extent to which the Apologia has been offered to the public:

Mr. Kingsley and Dr. Newman. A Correspondence On the Question Whether Dr. Newman Teaches That Truth Is No Virtue? Longman, Green, Longman, Roberts, and Green; London, 1864, pages 17 (Ward, 5-21)

What, then, does Dr. Newman Mean? A Reply to a Pamphlet lately published by Dr. Newman. Macmillan and Co., London and Cambridge. 1864, page 37. (Ward, 25-62)



Apologia Pro Vita Sua. A Reply to a Pamphlet entitled, 'What, then, does Dr. Newman Mean?' D. Appleton & Co., New York, 1865, 393.

Apologia Pro Vita Sua. Being a Reply to a Pamphlet (by C. Kingsley) entitled, 'What, then, does Dr. Newman Mean?' Longman, Green, Longman, Roberts, and Green; London, 1864. pages: iv, 430, 127

Apologia Pro Vita Sua. Being a History of His Religious Opinions. Longmans, Green, & Co., London, New York, Bombay. 1897, pp. xxviii, 395

Apologia Pro Vita Sua. Being a History of his Religious Opinions. Longmans, Green, London, 1904, pp. xxii 176

Apologia Pro Vita Sua. J. M. Dent & Sons, London. 1912, pp. xiii, 326. (Everyman's Library.) Introduction by Charles Sarolea. He is the author of "Cardinal Newman and His Influence on Religious Life and Thought." (1908) An interesting but superficial writer.

Apologia Pro Vita Sua. Oxford Edition, Oxford University Press. Ed. 1, 1913, Ed. 2, 1931. pp. xxx, 528. Contains the two versions of 1864 and 1865 preceded by Newman's and Kingsley's Pamphlets. Introduction by Wilfrid Ward, son of W. G. Ward, an Oxford associate of Newman. He gives a number of personal glimpses of Newman. This edition is reviewed in YWES, 1931, 279. Composite edition - gives by typographical device the various readings of the different editions.

Apologia Pro Vita Sua. Loyola University Press, Chicago, 1930. pp. xviii 467. Edited for College use by D. M. O'Connell who follows the 1865 version. Foreword by Hilaire Belloc, prominent Catholic author.

Apologia Pro Vita Sua. A History of his Religious Opinions. The Modern Readers Series, Macmillan Co., New York, 1931. pp. xxi, 380. Follows the 1865 versions. Introduction by Anne B. G. Hart, Associate Professor of English in Smith College.

The Heart of Newman's Apologia. Grennan, Margaret R., Longmans, Green and Co., New York, 1934. pp. ix, 189. Introduction by Joseph J. Reilly. Miss Grennan was a Helen Gray Cone Fellow at Hunter College, New York, in 1934. Dr. Reilly is Professor of English at Hunter College and author of "Newman as a Man of Letters" (1925.) The book is an attempt at "a version from which those parts should be excluded whose appeal was largely to Newman's contemporaries and the retention, without interrupting the narrative, of the parts whose interest is abiding."



Historia de mis ideas religiosas; mi conversion al catolicismo.  
Introduction por Manuel Giana, Ediciones Fax, Madrid, 1934  
XXIII, 263.

Apologia Pro Vita Sua. Histoire De Mes Opinions Religieuses  
Bloud et Gay, Paris, 1939, pp. vii-xxxviii, 424 (2 volumes.)

Apologia Pro Vita Sua. Zijnde De geschiedens van zijn  
godsdienstig inzicht, Vitgaverij 'Heideland,' Beringen, 1946  
pp. xxviii, 276

Apologia Pro Vita Sua. Sheed & Ward, London, 1946 pp. xv, 232.  
Follows version of 1865. Introduction by Maisie Ward. The  
latter is a grand daughter of W. G. Ward, an associate of  
Newman at Oxford and, herself, a lifelong student of Newman.  
She is the author of a recent study of Newman; "Young Mr.  
Newman." Her Introduction emphasizes the differences between  
the two versions and the value of the Appendices.

Apologia Pro Vita Sua. Longmans, Toronto, New York. Works  
of John Henry Newman, 1947, pp. xcii, 400. Introduction by  
C. F. Harrold. At the time of his death, Mr. Harrold was  
Professor of English at Ohio State University and the fore-  
most American authority on Newman, having written several  
studies of him.

Apologia Pro Vita Sua. Modern Library, New York, 1950,  
pp. xiv, 430. Follows 1864 Text with Correspondence and  
Pamphlets. Introduction by Anton C. Pegis, President,  
Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, Toronto. His  
preliminary essay consists of a superficial sketch of  
Newman's life.

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APPENDIX A.

## CHRONOLOGY

- 1801: Feb. 21: Birth of John Henry Newman, son of John Newman, a London banker. Oldest of six children, 3 boys and 3 girls.
- 1808: May 1: Boarding School at Ealing.
- 1816: Dec. 14: Newman begins residence at Trinity College, Oxford.
- 1822: April 12: Elected Fellow of Oriel College; influence of Whately.
- 1824: May: Takes Holy Orders, becomes Curate of St. Clement's, Oxford.
- 1826: Becomes Tutor of Oriel; begins to shake off Whately's intellectualism.
- 1828: Appointed Vicar of St. Mary's, with the chapelry of Littlemore; influence of Hurrell Froude and of the early Church Fathers.
- 1831-32: Made select preacher to the University; develops a close friendship with Hurrell Froude, John Keble and Edward Pusey.
- 1832: Goes for a Mediterranean tour with Froude; is repelled, in Italy, by the Roman Catholic system; composes much poetry (Lead Kindly Light); after serious illness in Sicily, returns to England on July 9, 1833.
- 1833: July 14: Keble preaches sermon National Apostasy, marking the beginning of the Oxford Movement, as a reaction to Erastianism (the Church regarded as merely a department of the State,) against current rationalism, and neglect of tradition and spirituality in the English Church. Publication of many Tracts for the Times until 1841.
- 1835-39: Newman superintends the Tracts; delivers his famous Sunday afternoon sermons; becomes editor of the British Critic (1836); works out his theory of the Via Media (English Church midway between the errors of Protestantism and the corruptions of Rome); disturbed by his discovery (in 1839) of the similarity between the Anglican position and the fifth and sixth-century heresy known as Monophysitism, and by reading Wiseman's article comparing the Anglicans to the Donatist heretics of the fourth century.





- 1841: Publishes Tract XC to "test the tenability of all Catholic doctrine within the Church of England," suggesting that her Thirty-Nine Articles had not been directed against the Roman Catholic position but only against popular errors and exaggerations; meets with a storm of disapprova;; discontinues the Tracts.
- 1842: April 19: Retires to Littlemore with a few friends; establishes a semi-monastic life; writes the Development of Christian Doctrine which he leaves uncompleted (1845)
- 1845: Having published a semi-formal retraction of all he had said against the Roman Catholic Church (1843,) he is received into that Church on October 9.
- 1847: Newman, having been ordained priest (in Rome, in 1846) settles at the Oratory at Edgbaston, near Birmingham, as its superior.
- 1851: Delivers the lectures on Difficulties of Anglicans, in London to aid in stemming the tide of popular feeling against the restoration of the Roman Catholic hierarchy in England.
- 1851: Lectures on The Present Position of Catholics in England; becomes involved in a libel suit by accusing an ex-Dominican friar, Dr. Achilli, of gross immorality; is fined £100 and costs (£14000) which is supplied him by contributions from Catholics in England and America.
- 1852: Is made rector- elect of a proposed Catholic University in Dublin; begins his lectures on The Idea of a University; encounters jealousy and opposition.
- 1856: Newman resigns as rector.
- 1857: Is asked to edit a new translation of the Bible; unsupported by the bishops, this project is abandoned.
- 1858: Proposes a branch house of the Oratory at Oxford; is opposed by Manning; abandons the scheme.
- 1860: Is made editor of The Rambler, a liberal Catholic magazine; his article, "Consulting the Faithful in Matters of Doctrine" is delated to Rome and Newman is obliged to resign.
- 1863: December: Reads Charles Kingsley's review of Froude's History of England in Macmillan's Magazine for January, 1864, in which Kingsley says that "Father Newman informs us...that...truth for its own sake need not be a virtue with the Roman Clergy...."
- 1864: April 21-June 16. Apologia appears in weekly parts.



- 1865: Publishes The Dream of Gerontius.
- 1866-67: Newman makes another attempt to establish an Oxford branch of the Oratory; again opposed by Manning and blocked by Propaganda.
- 1867-70: Opposes the definition of Papal Infallibility by the Vatican Council and the establishment of the "inspiration of Scripture;" accepts both decrees when once established but is disturbed over the untimeliness of the first.
- 1870: Publishes The Grammar of Assent.
- 1874: Publishes the Letter to the Duke of Norfolk, replying to Gladstone's charge (in Various Decrees and their Bearing on Civil Allegiance) that Roman Catholics could not be loyal at once to Britain and to an "infallible pope."
- 1878: Is made Honorary Fellow of Trinity College, Oxford; is now universally honored and revered.
- 1879: Newman is created Cardinal.
- 1880: Visits Trinity College, Oxford; the following Sunday, preaches at the Jesuit Church in Oxford.
- 1890: August 11: Death of Newman.



## APPENDIX B

### ADVERSE CRITICISMS OF THE APOLOGIA

There is a certain persisting opinion current in Newman criticism, namely, that Newman is simply an intellectually seductive, self-deluded, self-centred, and dangerously unscrupulous user of the English language.

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C. F. Harrold, John Henry Newman; New York, Longmans, Green & Co., 1945, 313.

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However, in spite of his efforts (Newman's) to be objective, such a reader as Herbert Vaughan, the future cardinal, "read it with a mixture of pain and pleasure," the "egotism" of the book "disgusting" him, the "satire and contempt appealing to one's bad nature, unfortunately."

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Dom Cuthbert Butler, The Life and Times of Bishop Ullathorne; London, 1926 (Quoted: C. F. Harrold, John Henry Newman, 312-13) I, 332

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The Newman-Kingsley controversy..."a tragic and shameful businesss," and the Apologia ...so "horribly unchristian" as to be "sickening to read."

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A. F. Hort, Life and Letters of Fenton John Anthony Hort; London, 1896, II, 423-25. (Quoted: C. F. Harrold, John Henry Newman; 313

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"unchristian" as Newman's methods may have been, "it is demanding too much of human nature to expect a master of fence, when wantonly attacked with a bludgeon, to abstain from the pleasure of pricking his adversary scientifically in the tender parts of his body."

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W. R. Inge, Outspoken Essays, 1st Series; 180. (Quoted: C. F. Harrold, John Henry Newman; 313.

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...representative of criticism hostile to the Apologia is that of Principal Fairbairn, who in 1896 recorded his opinion of it as a cunning idealization of the facts. He dismisses it as of "the least historical worth," as "neither a biography nor an autobiography, but simply what it professes to be, a dialectical apology for a life by





the man who lived it;" it is "only a history idealized...under the transfiguring light of a superlative, ratiocinative genius, whose imagination made his successive experiences (seem) like steps in (a) logical process."

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C. F. Harrold, John Henry Newman; 313.

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In 1933 the late Anglican Bishop E. A. Knox (The Tractarian Movement) while conceding the book to "rank for all time among the greatest of the world's autobiographies," nevertheless condemns it as "the work of one of the most self-centred of men...written in a passion of self-admiration."

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C. F. Harrold, John Henry Newman; 313.

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Frank Leslie Cross...reminds us that Newman's conversion to Roman Catholicism--which, after all, is the main theme of the Apologia--may have had at least one of three types of nonphysical motivation: intellectual convictions, moral considerations, or "psychological factors." More than one of these causes may have operated conjointly, but Cross is convinced that the reasons leading to Newman's conversion were primarily "psychological." The Apologia, says Cross, is no doubt the greatest autobiography in the English language, but to judge it so is not also to pronounce any opinion as to its historical accuracy. Indeed, according to this critic, the Apologia, which appears to set forth "a series of theological discoveries" and intellectual considerations, is in reality "a distinctly misleading account of the chief motives," which were in fact profoundly emotional. So far as doctrinal considerations played their part, the Apologia is highly accurate; but the psychological factors were so deep and subtle, so unsusceptible to explanation in words, that Newman's account, consciously or unconsciously, is "fundamentally misleading in its whole staging of the story."

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Adaptation by C. F. Harrold, John Henry Newman; 314, of the criticism of the Apologia in: Frank Leslie Cross, John Henry Newman; London, Allan, 1933, pp. 8, 132-33, 138.

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As a controversialist Newman's success has perhaps been exaggerated. The success of the Apologia, for instance, was very little due to its merits as a contribution to the question immediately at issue in the Kingsley dispute; those who were interested in that question knew that there were stronger invectives to be found against the unscrupulousness of Roman methods in Newman's own writings than in the offending words of Kingsley; nor, again, was its success in degree



theological -- probably no single person of average intellect was ever converted by reading it; it was a purely literary success due in the first place to its engaging frankness, when the public mind was anticipating vulgar subterfuge; and secondly, to the lucidity with which it set forth the writer's two positions, first of the English and afterwards of the Roman communion. The two points of view are admirably portrayed but the passage from the one to the other has about as much controversial value as the passage from one picture to another in a dissolving view.

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H. C. Beeching, John Henry Newman, English Prose (ed. by H. Craik, Students Edition); New York, Macmillan, 1893-1900, V, 447.

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Gates' essay...replies to the frequent statement that the Apologia is "simply and sincerely autobiographic" by declaring the book...to be "an enormously elaborate and ingenious piece of special pleading to prepare the way for a few syllogisms that have now become grotesquely insignificant."

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C. F. Harrold, John Henry Newman; 427. (Harrold is referring to the Introduction of: Lewis Gates, Newman: Prose Selections; New York, 1895, p.xix.)

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# APPENDIX C

The purpose of Appendix C is to indicate the major differences between the 1864 and 1865 editions.

## 1864 Edition Apologia Pro Vita Sua

Part I: Mr. Kingsley's Method  
of Disputation  
Part II: The Mode of meeting  
Mr. Kingsley

Part III: History of my  
Religious Opinions up  
to 1833

Part IV: History of my Religious  
Opinions from 1833-39

Part V: History of my Religious  
Opinions from 1839-41

Part VI: History of my Religious  
Opinions from 1841-45

Part VII: General Answer to  
Mr. Kingsley

## 1865 Edition History of My Religious Opinions

### Preface

Extracts from 1864 edition which are  
included:

Part I, pp.3, 20-25  
Part 2, pp.29-31, 41-51

Chapter I: History of My Religious  
Opinions up to 1833

Chapter II: History of My Religious  
Opinions from 1833-39

Chapter III: History of My Religious  
Opinions from 1839-41

Chapter IV: History of My Religious  
Opinions from 1841-45

Chapter V: Position of My Mind  
Since 1845

Changes: 1.Addition of Letter (Nov.16,  
1844) in Chapter IV  
2.General revision of words  
and phrases, substituting  
generally an Anglo-Saxon  
for a Latin vocable.

Answer in Detail to Mr.  
Kingsley's Accusation.  
1.My Sermon on the Apostolical  
Christian.  
2.My Sermon on Wisdom and  
Innocence.  
3.The Anglican Church.  
4.The Lives of the English  
Saints.  
5.Ecclesiastical Miracles.  
6.Popular Religion.  
7.The Economy  
8.Lying and Equivocation

### Notes

A.Liberalism  
B.Ecclesiastical Miracles  
C.Sermon on Wisdom and Innocence  
D.Series of Saints Lives of 1843-44  
E.Anglican Church  
F.The Economy  
G.Lying and Equivocation  
Changes: Three of original Eight  
Appendices disappear (1,4,6)  
Added: Liberalism  
Lives of the English Saints of  
1843-44  
Change in part of 'Ecclesiastical  
Miracles.'





APPENDIX D.

## ADDITIONAL EXAMPLES OF VARIANTS DISCUSSED IN CHAPTER VI.

The page refers to the 1913 Oxford Edition, edited by W. Ward. The 1864 text is quoted first, followed by the later revision(s).

Capitalization (Above, page 55)

- 132: Reformation -- reformation
- 150: Movement -- movement
- 132: power -- Power
- 196: tory -- Tory
- 233: letter -- Letter

Replacement of Pronoun References (Above, page 56)

- 130: they -- these beings
- 132: them -- the Evangelicals
- 184: They -- The Articles
- 197: they -- those extravagances

References to time, place and individuals (Above, page 56)

- 107: that Churches were not decorated in those days -- that Anglican Churches...
- 114: thenceforward -- at least from the year 1834
- 118: a shrewd man -- Mr. Rickards
- 119: Robert I. Wilberforce -- Robert Isaac Wilberforce
- 128: till the whole was brought into manifestation -- till the whole evangelical doctrine was brought into full manifestation
- 129: not later than 1834 -- 1831
- 132: such men as the then Bishop of Lichfield -- such men as Ryder, the then Bishop of Lichfield
- 136: did not stop night or day till I reached England -- did not stop night or day (excepting the compulsory delay in Paris) till I reached England
- 157: ...was sent to me by the author -- was sent to me by Dr. Hampden
- 163: though projected, I think, by me -- though projected by me
- 166: the struggle then proceeding -- the struggle then proceeding against a Whig appointment
- 230: A.B. -- Rogers
- 232: C.D. -- Milman
- 233: my letters to a friend -- my letters addressed severally to Mr. Bowden
- 238: I thus wrote to a friend -- I thus wrote to Mr. Bowden
- 252: The Editor of a Magazine -- The Editor of the Christian Observer, Mr. Wilkes
- 259: the most prominent person in it -- the most prominent person in it - Mr. Oakely



- 266: A.B. -- A. -- Ward (1873)  
 274: letter ... to a Catholic Prelate -- letter...to Cardinal Wiseman, then Vicar Apostolic  
 279: a learned controversialist in the North -- a learned controversialist, Mr. Stanley Faber (1875 ed.)  
 311: him -- him (1865 ed.) -- Archdeacon Manning (1875 ed.)  
 323: A.B. -- A.(1865) -- James Mozley (1875 ed.)  
 323: in the C.D. -- in the Christian Remembrancer

Errors in Spelling and Verbs (Above, page 56);

- 107: the idea -- these ideas  
 133: some inward changes...was coming -- some inward changes... were coming  
 171: Melanchton's -- Melanchthon's  
 182: Council of Trent...Decrees -- Council of Trent...Canons  
 223: Gipseys -- gypsies  
 277: whether Rome had formally -- whether Rome had formerly  
 278: This was written on March 7 -- This was written on March 8  
 293: I resigned the Living of St. Mary's, Littlemore inclusive -- I resigned the Living of St. Mary's, Littlemore included

Revision of Phrases to achieve exactness (Above, page 57);

- 108: (re Thomas Scott) possessed of his Essays -- possessed of his 'Force of Truth' and other Essays  
 107: Voltaire's against the immortality of the soul -- Voltaire's, in denial of the immortality of the soul  
 110: very opposite character -- character very opposite to Calvinism  
 112: learned to give up my remaining Calvinism -- was led to give up my remaining Calvinism  
 122: the certitude thus created -- the certitude thus brought about  
 126: He had no appreciation of -- He set no sufficient value on  
 126: He made me look with admiration -- He taught me to look  
 156: Whatever faults then the Anglican system might have -- Whatever deficiencies had to be supplied in the existing Anglican system  
 161: we should have had no chance -- we should have had little chance  
 167: Protestant...was not the profession of any religion -- Protestant...did not denote the profession of any particular religion  
 169: contained in those fundamentals or as outwardly represented them -- contained in those fundamentals and in such natural observances as outwardly represented them  
 182: mercifulness wipes out...infirmity and weakness -- mercifulness wipes out...sins  
 202: it was a matter, not of convictions, but of truths -- it was a matter which bore, not on convictions, but on proofs  
 215: I had no more a distinctive plea -- I had no longer a distinctive plea  
 235: I had acted on occasion of Tract 90 -- I had acted on the first appearance of Tract 90  
 247: on the grounds of its being Apostolic -- on the grounds of its teaching being Apostolic  
 265: in a sort of easiness - in a sort of laziness



- 287: was an omission of one passage about the Blessed Virgin --  
 were omissions in one Sermon about the Blessed Virgin  
 290: my issue is still Faith versus Church -- my issue is still Creed  
 291: of what others have said on the subject -- of what metaphysicians  
 have said...  
 295: the Anglican position could not be defended -- the Anglican  
 position could not be satisfactorily maintained  
 331: difference of thought or of temper from what I had before --  
 change, intellectual or moral, wrought in my mind  
 452: there could be no danger to the individual Catholic -- there  
 could be no perplexity to the individual Catholic

Substitution of Action Verbs and Dramatic Phrases (Above, page 57);

- 110: I have given a full inward assent -- I have held with a full  
 inward assent  
 134: Though forced to stop a day at Paris -- Though forced to stop  
 twenty-four hours at Paris  
 141: which ever occurred to his mind -- which on every occasion  
 occurred to his mind  
 153: I observe that here again -- I repeat that here again  
 160: how disgusted I should be at the news -- how disgusted I should  
 be at such proceedings  
 162: if confidence in his position...Dr. Pusey had it -- if  
 confidence in his position...this Dr. Pusey possessed pre-  
 eminently.  
 171: the work would be done in my days -- the work would be  
 accomplished in my days  
 175: the first threatenings of the crisis were heard -- the first  
 threatenings of what was coming were heard  
 179: how could it best be kept out of England -- how could it best  
 be suppressed in England  
 186: in the universal storm of indignation -- in the sudden storm  
 of indignation  
 192: to hold their respective doctrines -- for asserting their  
 respective doctrines  
 207: these are to be taken into account -- these must be taken  
 into account  
 209: this I observe -- this I advance  
 227: such obstacles as were in the way -- such obstacles as lay  
 in the way  
 264: had they not been made to eat them -- had they not been forced  
 to recognize them  
 295: But there was more than this meant in the words which I used --  
 I was in a humor, certainly, to bite off their ears  
 296: to retire from the Anglican Church -- to abandon the Anglican  
 Church  
 345: because it has not been told me -- because it has not been  
 brought home to me





Elimination of References to Self (Above, page 58);

- 108: I thought others -- my mind did not dwell on others  
 149: what he says of me in praise is but part of a whole account --  
 what he says of me in praise occurs in the midst of blame  
 167: I had to draw it out -- it needed to be drawn out  
 210: Dr. Pusey and myself -- Dr. Pusey's Party  
 220: because it was before my eyes -- for the reason that it lay at  
 our very doors  
 294: I said -- that to say out  
 309: about me -- on every side of them  
 347: to my writing -- the occasion of this Volume  
 368: if my assailant is to be believed: -- if their enemies are to  
 be credited  
 389: I proceed -- Again  
 391: the name, Dr. Newman, is omitted  
 418: the name, Dr. Newman, is omitted

Recasting Awkward Phrases and Sentences (Above, page 58);

- 105: yet I cannot help thinking that, viewed as a whole, it will  
 effect what I wish it to do -- ...it will effect what I propose  
 to myself in giving it to the public  
 106: that my friends may, upon first reading what I have written,  
 consider much in it irrelevant -- that, upon first reading  
 what I have written, my friends may consider much in it irrelevant.  
 143: was not unnaturally willing to give way -- was, of course,  
 willing to give way  
 150: my multiform conduct in consequence of -- the various proceed-  
 ings which were the consequence of  
 155: as expressed in not simply a catena but -- as expressed not  
 simply in a catena  
 159: which...learned themselves -- with which...become acquainted  
 168: opposition to the Church of Rome -- anti-Romanism  
 172: was a favourite scheme of Mr. Rose's -- was a favourite scheme  
 with Mr. Rose  
 173: could not in the exercise of the largest indulgence be said  
 to have an Anglican direction -- had little that was congenial  
 with Anglicanism  
 212: have instanced above -- has appeared already  
 220: fulfilled the bad points -- justified the serious charges  
 264: made to eat -- forced to recognize  
 267: that I used to myself -- in which I expressed it to myself  
 365: as Walter Scott has applied the text -- to borrow a scriptural  
 image from Walter Scott  
 369: in it an element of France -- in it a French element











